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THE
BRITISH CRITIC,
AND
Quarterly Theological Review.

APRIL, 1839.

ART. I.—*Tracts for the Times.* No. 80. *On Reserve in communicating Religious Knowledge.*

IT is a matter, which a little consideration must show, that, from one cause or other, there is, in all cases, a certain kind of reserve in communicating knowledge upon difficult subjects to all persons under instruction. Whether it be in learning purely scientific, or in that which is to be applied to practice, there must be some kind of order or method observed in the teaching, though all may not proceed upon the same principle, or adopt, or follow it out upon the same grounds. And it will be found, that the more these subjects bear on the practical business of life, the more does the principle, upon which this sort of reserve proceeds, partake of a moral character: that is to say, it is adopted with a view to impart the knowledge so as to be most useful to the particular dispositions under instruction, and care is taken to prevent and correct the mistakes or abuses, to which, in certain cases, it might lead. Considerations come in whether the persons under instruction are likely, without further preliminary teaching or cautions than are given in other cases, to make a proper use of the knowledge—whether their minds are of an order to receive it at that particular time, or in that particular form—whether they had better be disciplined in something else first. The very notion of instruction seems necessarily to involve this. And as this kind of moral character may be traced in systems and methods of instruction more and more, as the subjects concern matters of real life, so one would expect to find it most particularly in religion. The nature of the subject, both as to depth and importance, and also the early age at which persons receive their earliest lessons in it, and that it is for the simplest and most ignorant, as well as the most highly educated, would make this specially requisite. And it will be found, that, in fact, this sort of reserve is used, even where persons might be disposed to disclaim their use of it.

Children are instructed in religious knowledge by their parents gradually. Some things are taught first as plainest, or of most consequence, and that in a familiar way, not attempting to give the whole truth but just so much as may be best received, and may best impress the prominent idea, desired to be given. Some things are kept back as not being of immediate practical use—others as liable to be misunderstood—others as too deep, mysterious, and perplexing—others as perhaps opening a way to mischief, and introducing to a knowledge of evil not yet necessary to be known or thought of. Let any one, who has ever taught a child consider whether they have not tacitly proceeded upon this principle. Have they not picked their Scripture lessons, have they not passed over certain passages and chapters, gone over others oftener—have they not abstained from all remark on some points, while on others they have again and again given explanations, and in all this have they not had an eye to the age, and sex, and disposition, and probable future place in life of the person under instruction? The title, then, of the little work which stands at the head of this article in truth expresses a general principle, which all admit *practically*, if not in *theory*, viz. that there is, and must be, some reserve in communicating religious knowledge, something will be kept back, something come first, some regard be had to the capacities, conditions, and tempers of those under instruction, and that this will be done upon system and principle. The teacher is all along aware that something is being withheld from the taught, and this not only from the mere necessity of the case, but also as best for him; the things kept back seeming as yet not so well for him to know. Of course the course and order to be followed—the principle upon which any such reserve is observed—the distinct consciousness of acting upon it in particulars—in short, the whole question of detail, is quite another matter. Here endless varieties of system and opinion may exist.

These remarks are made just to point out that the subject of the work, on which it is intended to make some observations, is nothing new—the title is not any thing to alarm at first sight. Persons may be jealous of the company, in which it appears, among the collection of Tracts for the Times, as making it probable that the subject would be treated with a particular bias; but it is mere idle ignorant clamour to make an outcry against the general principle itself. As long as religion is a subject for the young as well as the full grown—as long as men and women are what they are—as long as Christians grown up in the darkest ignorance have to be taught what they profess, and concerning which they have all sorts of dim vague notions, and heathen nations remain to be converted—as long as Revelation is so deep

and mysterious and beyond the reach of human understanding, and the duties connected with religion are so various, complicated, and difficult to adjust, there must be reserve in communicating religious knowledge, and that reserve involve a moral principle.

On all accounts, it is plain, how very important it must be, to have sound views on the general subject and its practical bearings. As connected with questions of education, with practical parochial duties, with missionary labours, it should be a most interesting subject. Even, then, the importance of the subject in itself might explain our taking up a solitary and small production like the present, as subject for a separate article: but beyond this we may as well state at the outset what has drawn us to this little work. We have seldom seen so much Scripture—not mere texts, but the spirit of passages—brought to bear and throw light on a subject, with a more patient and calm tone of investigation—so much matter for thought incidentally opened,—sacred things approached and discussed with such deep reverence and devotional feeling,—and, in general, so much in a small compass. Indeed, in our opinion, the writer has not done himself, or his views, by any means justice. He passes often abruptly from one point to another; he does not give himself time or space to put things, so as to remove wrong impressions, or lead his reader on to perceive the connection between the different parts of his Treatise. There is, therefore, a certain obscurity, and throughout (as could scarcely be avoided where so much and such large subjects are touched upon so shortly) an air of being rather the heads of what might be worked up, than as if all the matter in the writer's mind was before one.

But to proceed at once to our subject. The view of the Tract is set down in the opening words.—

“The object of the present inquiry is to ascertain, whether there is not in God's dealings with mankind a very remarkable holding back of sacred and important truths, as if the knowledge of them were injurious to persons unworthy of them. . . . It is not intended to speak of it as a mark of judicial punishment, nor as denoting the anger of the Almighty, nor as connected in any way with intellectual acuteness: but, if I may so speak, with reverence, I would say, that there appears in God's manifestations of himself to mankind, in conjunction with an exceeding desire to communicate that knowledge, a tendency to conceal and throw a veil over it, as if it were injurious to us unless we were of a certain disposition to receive it. And though this cannot explain the speculative difficulty, why the truth is not set before mankind so strongly and clearly that they cannot fall; yet it may tend to satisfy a fair mind, to see, that we have symptoms of such a thing being not good, or, perhaps, possible in morals: and such we may assuredly gather from what we see of God's

dealing with us in all His moral government, both natural and Scriptural, so as to show us, that as we are to be thankful for what is revealed, we have also to be thankful for what is not revealed.”—p. 3.

Having thus opened on his subject, he proceeds almost at once (somewhat too abruptly as seems to us) to illustrate it from consideration of the life, and ministry, and miracles of our Lord, the conduct of His disciples, and the difficulties in the Epistles, showing, that the nature of the withdrawals and difficulties were, and are, providentially so ordered, that this should be according as certain dispositions of mind were in the persons towards whom they were exercised.

It would, perhaps, have been more satisfactory, and have been tracing the system wider and deeper, before entering upon the New Testament in particular—to have shown how Scripture, throughout, upon the very face of it, does in the difficulties which it presents to every thoughtful reader practise a species of reserve—that, call it by what name you will, and without pausing to consider whether the very nature of the subject-matter does not make it necessary in many respects, there is *practically* a withholding of the great truths of which it speaks, and this, too, even in regard to matters of practice; that is to say, the rules and statements are often so given as to make both the precept itself and the application of it difficult and obscure. It may be not uninteresting to go a little into this point here, and to establish it more clearly. The more fully this is done, the more important will it seem to ascertain what may be called the Law of this Reserve. The Tract, indeed, does just glance at this, but very shortly, e. g. “the fact of the many generations of the heathen world, in a state of great ignorance of many things, which we know to be of the very highest importance to our well being,” is mentioned. But that, it might be said, was their own faults. According to St. Paul’s argument, “the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even His eternal power and godhead: so that they are without excuse: because, that, when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened and even as they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind.” Again, the silence in the Books of Moses respecting a future and eternal life—the types and sacrifices with their real spiritual import unexplained, and left to be felt unsatisfactory, are also alluded to. However, at the hazard of seeming to labour to point out, what to all is clear, we shall enter upon rather a more lengthened notice of this. Let it be remembered, then, that the point now to be spoken of is

that God's Revelations of Himself as contained in Scripture, have from the first been communicated with great reserve. They were confined to one nation, in one language (for though the New Testament is in Greek, yet the events recorded till the time of the history of the Acts of the Apostles took place in Judea, and, so to speak, in their language). Further, there are but slight traces to be found in heathen writers of any intercourse with, or knowledge of, the Jewish nation, which Gibbon and other such writers have not failed to lay hold of. Then for the instruction of later ages consider the difficulties which arise upon mere points of interpretation, such as what the precise sense of the original be, whether the translation has added to or curtailed the meaning: and for the larger number of readers, how many obscurities arise out of allusions to customs and occurrences beyond their power of investigating.

We may pass on from these causes of difficulty, which lie, as it were, on the surface of Scripture, to the actual contents. And there one can hardly fail to observe, how the modes of statement, (divinely ordered, be it remembered, for "all Scripture is given by inspiration of God," *πᾶσα γραφὴ θεόπνευστος*—not merely Scripture, taken *as a whole*, but all taken together, and each part in particular), lie open to misconception. There is, if one may venture so to describe it, a bold, abrupt unguardedness in Scripture language, which becomes the more remarkable, in that instances meet one in every page, and in places, where, humanly speaking, one might have beforehand expected the most accurate and guarded statements. Indeed this may be said to be quite a characteristic of Scripture language. To make what is here intended clearer, we will illustrate the peculiarity alluded to by a variety of instances hastily taken from various parts of Scripture: instances, in which the difficulties are of various kinds, and present themselves under different aspects. In some, from the brevity with which facts are stated, without any thing to serve for commentary or explanation—in some, from the startling nature of the facts related, all circumstances considered—in some, from what seems like historical confusion, or contradictory statements—in some, the difficulties appearing at first sight—in others, increasing upon attentive examination. The natural feeling, which an inquirer might have as he met with them in Scripture, being, that somehow there always seems something kept back, which, had it but been expressed, would make all clear, and remove the perplexity: a wish almost, either that the thing had not been mentioned at all, or that some explanation had been also vouchsafed. Such are the following, which may be grouped together as occurring in course of historical narration:—Lamech's speech to his

wives, "I have slain a man to my wounding and a young man to my hurt: if Cain shall be avenged sevenfold, truly Lamech seventy and sevenfold;" the sceptical questions raised concerning the space in the ark for so many living things and food for them, and why others should not have forced their way in, when the flood began; what the sin was in building the city and tower of Babel, to stop which God confounded their language, that they might not understand one another's speech; the office of Melchizedek—the sanctity with which his character is invested—the meaning of his bringing forth bread and wine—the birth of six sons to Abraham by Keturah, apparently a considerable number of years after Isaac's birth, though St. Paul's words concerning him at that time are, "he considered not his own body now dead;" the hardening Pharaoh's heart; the history of Balaam, his being permitted to go with Balak's messengers, and yet he would have been slain for going but for the miraculous perception of his ass; how far such customs, as the year of release, journeys to the ark, when at Shiloh, and afterwards in the temple at Jerusalem, were kept up by the Jews generally, and whether their frontiers ever suffered at those times from attacks of enemies; the meaning of certain religious symbols, as ephod, teraphim, the Urim and Thummim;—the sequence and order of events in the time of the Judges;—the whole history of Micah, its meaning and place in the order of time;—Saul's inquiring of Abner who David was, and no one seeming to know any thing about him, yet before some one recommends David to Saul's notice as "cunning in playing, and a mighty valiant man, and a man of war, and prudent in matters, and a comely person, and having the Lord with him: and Saul loved him greatly and he became his armour bearer;"—Elijah commissioned to anoint Hazael, Jehu, and Elisha, yet it would seem he only anointed the Prophet;—Elisha's answer to Naaman seeking a kind of permission to continue to attend his master and bow himself in the house of Rimmon, "when I bow myself in the house of Rimmon, the Lord pardon thy servant in this thing: and he said unto him, Go in peace;"—and that of Micaiah to Jehosaphat about going to Ramoth Gilead to battle: "Go and prosper; for the Lord shall deliver it into the hand of the king:" and then being further adjured to declare nothing but that which is true in the name of the Lord, he avows that he had spoken according to the lying spirit in Ahab's prophets;—Job, held up as a pattern of patience, yet the whole almost of his conversation after the two first chapters in the book called by his name is full of complaints and lamentations over his wretchedness;—the historical difficulties concerning the kings of Persia and Assyria, who in the Bible answer to those known in profane history under

other names;—the answer of St. Paul when charged with speaking disrespectfully to the High Priest, “I wist not that he was High Priest.” To these may be added certain facts related in the Old Testament, commended, or at any rate not reproved, where the difficulty turns on moral considerations, such as Abraham and Isaac calling their wives sisters, when in Egypt, and in the land of Gerar, and thus for their own safety exposing their virtue—plurality of wives allowed; thus the Prophet Nathan reports to David the word of the Lord: “Thus saith the Lord: I gave thee thy master’s house and thy master’s wives”—Sarah laughing within herself and denying it, and elsewhere her faith on this very subject most highly praised—Jacob’s conduct towards Esau—Judah’s in the matter of Tamar—the borrowing jewels of silver and jewels of gold of the Egyptians and spoiling them—the deed of Ehud—of Jael, called “blessed above women”—Jephtha’s fulfilling his vow, whether for that named among the examples of faith in the Epistle to the Hebrews—David’s last charge to Solomon concerning Joab and Shimei, the latter case being by many felt a particular difficulty—and that incense should have been burned to the brazen serpent, and the high places not removed, nor the images broken, nor the groves cut down, until the reign of Hezekiah, though such good kings as Asa and Jehosaphat had had long reigns before him. Whatever might be said, as that none but captious profane minds would take up and carp at such points as these (and well, indeed, it is where there is a strong feeling of the irreverence of all such questionings), and however a simple right-minded person would be surprised to hear them alleged in this way, yet it is quite certain that both in old and modern times these have furnished materials for scoffs and doubts against the credibility of God’s revealed Word. It may, for instance, be plainly seen from the writings of Theodoret and St. Augustine, in commenting on Scripture, or in controversial works, that the objections laid against the Christian religion in their days were precisely of the same sort, and supported by the same arguments, and the Scripture incidents selected, often the very same as those urged by infidel writers of modern times. There are a few more points under the head of the unguardedness of Scripture language, which must be touched, in order to convey any just notion how very general it is in every part of the Bible. Take the case of Prophecy, what unfathomable perplexities are there, partly from difficulty in interpreting the expressions, in which the predictions are conveyed, partly from the event not corresponding with the prediction, in the way we might expect, and the condition of change in the fulfilment not seeming provided for; so that not only the accomplishment may be unmarked at the

time, but even after they are long past, it still remains uncertain, whether they have been fulfilled, or are still to be looked for. Instances might be given from those prophecies, which seem to have a double concurrent meaning, the distinction between the circumstances of the two events being not so marked as to be easily traced, or the two being so intermixed as scarce to admit of separation upon any fixed rule. Such is the Prophecy of our Lord concerning the destruction of Jerusalem and the last judgment, the two being concurrently described as the coming of the Son of Man; or another saying of our Lord's, "There be some standing here, who shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of Man coming in His kingdom," coupled with the prevailing notion, which the Apostles seem to have derived from it, and which long continued in the Church, that the end of the world would shortly come. Such a prophecy, again, as that of Jonah, "yet forty days and Nineveh shall be destroyed," yet upon the repentance of the inhabitants it was spared, which we know perplexed the Prophet, who delivered it. Those passages, too, may be mentioned, which, seeming to speak of a great revival of outward Judaism, are in truth describing the Christian Church under the name of Jerusalem, and Christians as the chosen people: our Lord's own words too, "I am not come to destroy the law but to fulfil; for verily I say unto you, till heaven and earth pass one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law, till all be fulfilled," would be likely to confirm this notion: and, connected with these, those glowing representations of the glories of the Christian Church, e. g. Isaiah, xlix. lx. lxx., as if to be realized on earth, while the New Testament prophecies concerning the future prospects of the Church seem entirely of an opposite character. "Nevertheless when the Son of Man cometh shall He find faith," *the faith* (τὴν πίστιν), "on the earth,"—"evil men and seducers shall wax worse and worse"—"this know that in the last days perilous times shall come"—"there shall come in the last days scoffers." Or again, the fulfilment of such prophecies concerning our Saviour, as "they shall call his name Emmanuel—He shall be called a Nazarene—out of Egypt have I called my Son." To allude to one more case, in which there is a very common interpretation affixed to certain prophetic expressions in the New Testament,—We mean those concerning the coming of Antichrist and the Man of Sin, and certain passages in the Book of Revelation, which are supposed to point to the same ungodly power. Now supposing that these places are wrongly interpreted among us, (and there are many learned men, who cannot receive the common Anti-Papistical interpretation,) may it not be, that while men's minds are drawn in a wrong direction to

trace the fulfilment of these sayings, that principle, which is, in truth, the real incarnation of the man of sin, not only escapes condemnation, but is enthroned in pride and glory, and claims the admiration of men; and is almost worshipped by those who, all the while, pride themselves on being the farthest possible removed from any such weakness or superstition, and are loudest in their denunciations of its deadly sin?

If now from such general heads as History and Prophecy may suggest, we pass to doctrinal statements, and practical rules, there will be still found the same opening to serious error and misinterpretation on matters of gravest importance, from the unguarded way in which the doctrines and precepts are expressed, when, humanly speaking, it would seem quite plain that this might have been greatly, if not almost entirely, avoided. As to doctrines it must be well known to every thoughtful reader of his Bible, how they are often stated without any reference to their relative importance in the whole scheme, without qualification, and in the broadest manner, and even so as that the doctrinal statements in one place are to the apparent exclusion, and often contradictory, of those in another. Consider how the Divine attributes are put forward so as one seems scarcely to consist with others—e. g. God is love—our God is a consuming fire—his omnipotence, yet man resisting his power—his invariableness, yet repenting and changing—his omniscience and fixed foreknowledge, yet free agency of man, so to say, crossing and disappointing and reversing his purposes. Such statements again are in point, as where St. Paul says, “he that loveth another hath fulfilled the law:” or those words of the same Apostle, “it is impossible for those who were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift . . . if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance,” contrasted with other places, which declare how Almighty God is ever ready to pardon those who return to him, and that their sins and iniquities he will remember no more. Again: the eunuch’s confession before he was baptized—“I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God,” or the words of St. John, “whosoever believeth that Jesus is the Christ, is born of God,” are adduced against the imposition of Creeds and Articles of Faith, and to prove that the simplicity of the truth as it is in Jesus has been overlaid by doctrines and traditions of men. The conversion of St. Paul is made a kind of type of what is to take place in a sinner’s soul illuminated on a sudden by the piercing rays of God’s truth, and brought out of darkness to light, and able at once to feel the change. The gracious words, “He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not with him freely give us all things,” is taken as an encouragement to “continue in sin, that

grace may abound." The sayings, "by hope we are saved"—"by grace ye are saved"—"by the washing of regeneration and renewal of the Holy Ghost he saved us"—"in doing this *thou shalt save thyself*"—"if by any means *I might save some*"—"the *prayer of faith* shall save the sick," and the statements of St. Paul and St. John respecting faith and works, have been and are appealed to in support of dangerous and erroneous views. And in reference to the apparent difference between the two Apostles on the point last mentioned, German writers do not scruple to characterize them as heads of two schools of theology: and thus, if it may be so expressed, to reconcile, by dividing them. Lastly, as to practical statements, is not the case the same? Consider such as these, which may be taken as specimens of a class. "If any man come to me and hate not his father, and mother," &c. "If thy hand, or thy foot, or thine eye offend thee," &c. Are there not many, who on hearing or reading these have at times felt a thrilling and fearful desire to know the right meaning and application of them to themselves, especially considering the depth and compass, which our blessed Lord in his Sermon on the Mount has given to the Commandments, condemning the breaches of them in word and thought, as well as in deed? And in reference to the last quoted, to which another might be added, at least as remarkable, whatever by almost universal consent of expositors be the true sense of them, have they not sometimes been taken literally; indeed, it is probable, from the very nature of the subject, that they have been so acted upon oftener than is, on first thought, imagined? Again, as belonging to another class, which may be introduced among practical points as involving a great trial of faith on a point of daily practice, consider the promises of our Lord and elsewhere concerning the return of prayer, such as, John, xvi. 24, and John, xiv. 12. Again, the commendation of individuals for certain acts, yet it not being clear, how far we are called upon, or how far it would be good for us strictly to imitate them in those particulars. May it not even be said that there is a risk of error even in the recommending our blessed Lord's perfect pattern? for we must remember that Bible rules are for the rudest and plainest. Have not His actions been appealed to, to countenance false views, and disorderly practices? Then, too, might be added certain general rules laid down without limitation, which, however simple in themselves, become very perplexing when to be applied to practice. Even such an one as this, "By their fruits ye shall know them," when applied as a test of doctrines taught, is very hard to adapt, considering that there have been heresiarchs remarkable for correct lives and amiable dispositions. Nor should it be forgotten how often counter prac-

tical statements are met with, one seeming to be in direct contradiction to the other. E. g. in the Book of Proverbs, xxiii. 31. "Look not on the wine, when it is red," &c.; whereas it is given as an act of God's special bounty "to bring food out of the earth, and wine that maketh glad the heart of man;" while the case of Timothy again, on the other side, is quoted or made a text for "tee-totalling" discourses to establish the obligation of a water-drinking creed. The same Scripture which lays down the principle, "bless them that curse you, and pray for them that despitefully use you," contains this wish, "Alexander the coppersmith did *me* much evil; the Lord reward him according to his works." The same Scripture which enjoins, "love your enemies," gives an appeal of the man after God's own heart, "do not I hate them, O Lord, that hate thee," &c., and "let them be confounded and put to shame that seek after my soul," &c. And St. Paul, "if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink: for in so doing," &c. The precept, "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works," is not of so easy adjustment in all cases with "let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth." While some see all joy and peace in believing, and stand by the words, "rejoice in the Lord always," others find these sayings in no way inconsistent with an ascetic and mortified life, or with the rigorous self-discipline of Daniel, or St. John the Baptist. Not to dwell longer on this point, every attentive reader must be conscious of repeated perplexities he has felt about apparently conflicting practical rules. Undue importance may seem to have been given to some of the instances adduced. And so there may have been. But our purpose has been by mention of instances in various kinds, and of different importance, and variously occurring, to set others on observing for themselves this *unguardedness* of Scripture language.

In all that has been said, the thing is not whether this be the whole account, but whether in matter of fact the case is not so, whether the points alluded to do not cause difficulties and misapprehensions, which (humanly speaking) need not have been, for the most part, occasioned, had the design of Scripture been to be clear of these offences—whether each and all of these general heads of History, Prophecy, Doctrine, and Practice, have not caused difficulties from their particular modes of statement, separate from all other considerations. These cases may every one admit of satisfactory explanation, but that does not alter the fact alluded to, which is, that the offence and difficulty is created; and that the misunderstanding is upon the face of the thing, the sound view is arrived at with pain, and much thought, and above all, by approaching the study of Scripture with a humble and teachable

reverence. Or if it be said there is enough plain still left, such that he that runs may read, neither does that satisfy the question. For why was there then any more than enough? Besides, is it not all God's word, a Revelation to man? who shall venture calmly to determine, which parts may be omitted as of no consequence, and confine their notion of its useful parts to those which to them appear plain beyond mistake? This is, indeed, done sometimes, but if boldly and consistently followed out, consider what would be the result whether as to points of doctrine or practice? Fancy weeding the Bible upon this principle. How much might be thrust aside. Consider that it is God's Word and Book, and does not the notion of thus dividing and mutilating the sacred treasure savour of no small profaneness? We have dwelt the longer on this sort of preliminary discussion, because it seems to us that some one of a similar kind might very advantageously have been made as an introduction to the little work before us. It might have helped to remove from readers' minds their prejudice against the notion of God's holding back sacred and important truth; and have brought more forcibly before them the real difficulty there is throughout the whole course of God's Revelations upon this point of reserve: that throughout "God does, in a very remarkable manner, hide and conceal himself, and has to be submissively inquired after." It would have fixed the attention more on weighing, whether what our author suggests does seem sufficiently to account for the established fact of a reserve, which would, perhaps, have been clearer and more convincing, than to divide attention, as he does, by proving the fact and accounting for it at the same time.

The point from which he begins is "the general Historic Narrative of our Saviour's Life and Resurrection." He notices how the circumstances attending our Lord's birth, and the important transactions at the early period of his life, which we might have expected beforehand, would have been more known to the Jewish nation, were unnoted like the actions of apparently obscure persons: instancing the fulfilment of the prophecy of Malachi—"the Lord whom ye seek shall suddenly come to his temple, even the messenger of the covenant, whom ye delight in"—at the humble presentation of the child Jesus in the Temple; and adds this obvious remark, which however our familiarity with the subjects may perhaps make the more useful to be repeated. "There is something in the thought of our Saviour's being for thirty years among men, not known, and not believed on, even by those about him, and the witnesses of his early life, very remarkable and awful." He alludes to the circumstance of His teaching being generally with His disciples, and pretty much in private, or

in the obscure Galilee in presence of such as followed Him across the lake, or into desert places, and showed a desire to hear the word of God, and to be healed of their infirmities—that He was seldom at Jerusalem, except at the customary feasts, and did not hold many of His discourses in public there, until when He went up for the last Passover, and the fame of Him had been already widely spread about, and that the chief Priests and Pharisees were pressing upon Him for answers, forcing Him, in a manner, to disclose Himself to them, and thus goading themselves on to the great crime.

Then he observes upon the Resurrection, how it was “kept back from the gaze of the multitude, from the broad light of the common day,” and shown only to chosen witnesses. In all which instances our Lord manifested Himself to those seeking after Him with desire to be taught, while from those, who opposed themselves and cavilled at His doctrines, He withdrew.

He then proceeds to notice how in a variety of little incidents in His teaching our Lord does not seem to have done away with His disciples’ misconception, and in such little hints as He gave for clearing up their difficulties, He signifies to them that their not understanding implied something “morally deficient, not intellectually,” cautioning them against the leaven of the Pharisees, against having their hearts hardened, being hypocrites, and wanting in understanding.

Concerning the Parables as a mode of teaching, which he next discusses, he has the following observations, which very plainly gives his view of them.

“I cannot but conceive that there must have been this intention of veiling the truth in the Parables. It has been said, indeed, that they render moral truths more plain and easy, as well as more engaging; and that this was their purpose. But is this the case? They are easy to us, as all such things seem to be when explained; but were they so at the time? Was not the Crucifixion foretold nine times to the Apostles, and yet it was said distinctly that they did not understand it, although it does not appear to us, who know the circumstances, so difficult? Does not the place where the word Parable occurs often imply that this was its meaning or effect? Twice in the Psalms it occurs with ‘dark sayings.’ ‘I will incline mine ear to a Parable; I will open my dark sayings upon the harp’ (xlix. 4 and lxxviii. 2), quoted expressly to the purpose by St. Matthew, xiii. 35, ‘I will open my mouth in a Parable; I will utter dark sayings of old.’ And in the Prophet Ezekiel in the same sense, ‘They say of me, doth he not speak Parables?’ And does not our Lord’s answer to his disciples, when they asked him why he taught the people in Parables, prove this? ‘He answered and said unto them, because it is given unto you to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but to them it is not given.’”

To these may be added the following instances from the Book of Ecclesiasticus, "Be willing to hear every godly discourse; and let not the Parables of understanding escape thee" (vi. 35), as if without painful attention they would. In another place, "the finding out of Parables" is called "a wearisome labour of the mind."—(xiii. 26.) And again, after speaking of the proper spheres and usefulness of the labourer and artisan, it is added, "they cannot declare justice and judgment; and they shall not be found where Parables are spoken" (xxxviii. 33), as if that were something beyond them."

Some further remarks will be offered by and bye upon this view of the teaching by Parables, but they will be better reserved till after noticing the writer's remarks upon the subject of our Lord's miracles, as what has to be said will be connected with both these points.

"The miracles of our blessed Lord" (he says) "were the other mode of His teaching mankind and disclosing His divinity, and will not all that has been said forcibly apply to them also? Would it not appear (if I may so express myself with reverence) that He walked about, infinitely desirous to communicate good, without any limit or measure of His own goodness or power, but yet bound, as it were, in some very wonderful manner, by the unfitness of mankind to receive Him? For as He is revealed to us as more than willing to forgive, but, as it were, unable to do so unless we repent; in like manner is He also as desirous to manifest Himself to us, but as it were unable to do so, unless we are fitly disposed for it. Is it not very observable that the miracles recorded were to the very utmost of the faith of the persons seeking relief, but, as it were, unable to go beyond? By a word, and at a distance, if so asked, as in the case of the Centurion; by laying on His hand, if the request went to this, as in Jairus's daughter; by a more speedy cure of another intervening, by touching the hem of His garment, if such the belief; and He is spoken of as unable to work miracles (except a few), because they believed not; a very memorable expression, which incidentally occurs, as marking the sole bounds of His power and will. I think it may be considered without doubt as a general rule, that the benefits conferred in the Gospel are in a sort of measured proportion according to the faith of the recipient or person engaged, as shown by the words of St. Mark: Jesus said to them that word of His, *If thou canst believe* (τὸ εἰ δύνασαι πιστεῦσαι), and there are many like sayings. There may be some instances which *appear* to be exceptions to this, and in the manifold and incomprehensible ways of God's wisdom there may of course be these exceptions, and some mode of accounting for them, but this would not affect the general rule."

Many other instances might be here added of the miracles being, in a manner, apportioned to those on whose behalf they were wrought; but we pass to what is said on the point of our Lord's withholding the display of His miracles, and enjoining

secrecy about them. The commentary on the passage in St. Matthew is singularly happy.

“ Might it not be that if persecution on the part of the Jews were thus brought on prematurely, it would prove their more hardened state. He would therefore first of all deal with them more gently, by not showing them His full power? This will, I think, appear from the instance in St. Matthew (xii. 16), where it is said that He charged them that they should not make Him known, and that in thus doing was fulfilled the prophecy of Isaiah, in part of which it is said, ‘ He shall not strive nor cry, neither shall any one hear His voice in the streets. A bruised reed shall He not break, and the smoking flax shall He not quench, until He shall send forth judgment unto victory.’ The application of which passage to our Lord, introduced with reference to His having charged them not to make Him known, would seem to imply, that it was from great tenderness towards them that our Lord would not disclose Himself. And this will appear also from a circumstance that occurs immediately afterwards in the narration, when on our Lord’s casting out a devil, and the people being greatly astonished, the Pharisees on hearing of it attributed it to the prince of the devils. And upon this we know follows that most awful and earnest admonition, as if by this circumstance they had come to the edge of the precipice, from which He had been endeavouring to save them, the sin against the Holy Ghost. For they might have doubted the reality of God’s revelation, and have seen only the Son of *Man*, and still have repented; but if they allowed the miracles, which must be divine, and still continued in unbelief, they were in a state of heart that could neither repent nor be forgiven. If the manifestation of divinity is made to them, and they still disbelieve, nothing more can be done. And we know that the wonderful display of His power in raising Lazarus only exasperated the chief Priests and Pharisees still more rancorously against Him, and quickened their designs against His life.

“ The view, again, that our Lord’s manifesting Himself was accompanied with very great danger is borne out by expressions such as these. ‘ If I had not come and spoken unto them, they had not had sin,’ and ‘ if I had not done among them the works which none other man did, they had not had sin;’ and we know that the places of our Lord’s peculiar abode, and the scene of His mighty works, Capernaum and Bethsaida, were brought into a condition so fearful, that as to the former it will be more tolerable for Sodom in the day of judgment. If, therefore, such great guilt was incurred by witnessing our Saviour’s miracles and preaching, may we not reasonably suppose that the withholding the full evidence of His power was in mercy intended to keep them back from so awful a state? It may also be observed, that persons who come before us as most accepted, are those who have had least advantages—the Centurion, the Canaanitish woman, the good Samaritan, the returning leper (also a Samaritan), the thief on the cross.”

In regard, too, to our Lord’s own disciples, there is an appearance of there having been a distinction of this sort observed, *e. g.*

when, at the healing of Jairus's daughter, He put them all out but those three disciples, who were on other occasions kept nearer to Him, and the father (who had asked and worshipped Him) and the mother. "And may there not be something more in it than an accidental circumstance, that on our Lord's appearing to the assembled disciples on the evening of the resurrection, that one of them who was most slow of belief was not present." The transfiguration, too, stated in the three Evangelists so particularly in connection with St. Peter's memorable confession, "from which it would appear that it was this testimony, so blessed of our Lord, that rendered them now meet to be, as St. Peter expresses it in his Second Epistle, eye-witnesses of His majesty."

There are probably few writers of sermons who have not discussed and explained particular miracles and manifestations of our Lord upon this principle. Without, however, pretending to affirm that we have carefully considered all our Lord's recorded miracles with this view, or that there are not passages which do not seem to fall in with it, still when one reviews the many that do, and in a very marked manner, and when one takes into account that all cases, in which miracles were wrought for people, who had come from far, or who had followed our Lord about, or who came with an undoubting eagerness, or with humble and reverent petitioning, exhibit a degree of faith and acknowledgement of His power, there will be but few, if any, left, with anything of circumstantial narrative, which seem inconsistent with it. Two general allusions may be noticed, as seeming to oppose it; the more so as others might be pointed out of a like sort. The one is St. John (ii. 23), "Now when He was in Jerusalem at the Passover, in the feast day, many believed in His name when they saw the miracles which he did;" from which it is inferred that He did there a great many miracles in a very public way. Now supposing it was so, it would in no way affect the argument; because it is not maintained that our Lord withheld Himself, where there were those ready to profit by His manifestations, even though others, who were present, might be hardened by it. And it expressly says, "many believed in His name." Besides, the very next verse continues, "but Jesus did not commit Himself unto them," as if there was nevertheless still some veil, as it were, shading His works from those, whose eyes were not exercised to discern them. A most remarkable and almost inconceivable instance of this may be found in the miracles of the loaves and fishes.

"Even here it would appear as if there was somehow a sort of secret character about the miracle, for the multitudes were afterwards following our Saviour because they ate of the bread, but not considering the

miracle; and of the disciples themselves of whom it is said (by some doubtless very important coincidence of expression by the four Evangelists on both occasions), that they distributed the bread as it grew in their hands, it is said immediately after on the sea, that they considered not the miracle. It was not therefore even on this public occasion like an overpowering sign from heaven, but the divine agency even here retiring in some degree from view as in His natural providence."

The other passage is in the same Gospel, xii. 37. "But though He had done so many miracles among them, yet they believed not on Him." But it should be remembered this was spoken in the last year of His ministry, and not long before His betrayal. No doubt the fame of His mighty works grew louder and louder every year, and in proportion as men's minds were drawn towards Him, and that they watched and came to Him to see, the more eye witnesses would there be of His miracles, and the report of them be more widely known and talked of.

Now, if in the miracles there is to be traced a like kind of reserve to that before pointed out in regard to the Parables, this would remove an objection which has been raised against the view of the Parables being made use of with the intention of drawing a veil of obscurity over the doctrines taught in them, that so while dark to some, those, who would teachably crave after farther instruction, might receive it. It has been said in a late valuable publication, that in our Lord's own mind

"The two instances of Miracles and Parables were regarded as corresponding with each other in cause, in tendency, and in result; nor does it seem that we should be justified in assigning to the latter a character of studied obscurity and an express purpose of concealment, which we cannot perceive to belong to the former."—(*Bampton Lectures for 1836*, p. 108.)

Be it so: but what if in the miracles also (as has been shown) a marked reserve may be traced, occasionally indeed breaking out and affording ample proof of the finger of God, but, for the most part, kept back? And here a few words shall be added on the view of our Lord's teaching by Parables taken in those Lectures, in which we are unable to agree. For it seems only proper respect to the author in recommending the view taken in the Tract before us not to seem ignorant, that an opposite view has been recently maintained under the sanction of a name so well known and respected in Oxford. We do not pretend to do more than just touch on one or two points, and that rather by way of defending the view under consideration, than of offering any criticism on the Lectures.

"It would seem (says Mr. Ogilvie) that *set* and *formal* Parables—Parables in that limited sense in which we usually employ the word—

were not spoken by our Lord until the first year of his public life had been accomplished, and the second had already made some progress."—p. 94.

Without raising any question upon this opinion, though sufficient grounds do not occur to us in support of it, we shall gratify our readers by extracting the greater part of the passage where the reason for the supposed change in the manner of teaching is drawn out. Certainly it is put forward in a way to enlist one in its favour; it is so clear, and has so much truth and soundness in what refers to our moral nature.

"He (our Saviour) is pleased to say, that He has chosen a new method of instruction for their (the multitude's) sake. He saw that Parables were well suited to their circumstances, and likely to rouse them from their torpor, into which they had sunk;—calculated to unclosetheir eyes, and unstop their ears; to open the avenues of access to their understanding and their hearts; and to convey into their souls, labouring under the fearful disease of obdurate sin, the healing medicine of His pure and perfect doctrine. Their condition, with a fatal exactness, answered to the description long before given by the Prophet Isaiah; and for persons in such a condition of spiritual hardness and insensibility, direct reproof, admonition, and instruction were but ill adapted. Offended pride might spurn the salutary censure; carnal security would deride each intimation of danger; carelessness would overlook the captivating lessons even of heavenly wisdom; stubbornness of heart would effectually resist their gentle influence. There was, however, still some chance that liveliness of illustration, beauty of figure, the clearness and force of imaginary scenes pictured with unrivalled skill, might arrest attention, might awaken interest;—by pleasing the fancy might find a way to move the heart;—by engaging the imagination (that busy faculty which is too often successful in distracting and misleading the mind) on the side of reason, might collect the wandering thoughts, and induce a composure favourable to serious reflection. Fiction might render palatable truths naturally distasteful. The principle of self-love might be soothed and conciliated by the insinuating art, which leaves each hearer to deduce his own inferences, to make his own application, to detect within himself the particular faults and imperfections, which have been obliquely stated, and in general terms condemned. The benevolent Redeemer gladly availed Himself of the opportunity which He perceived to be still remaining; and the Gospel History acquaints us with the success of His attempts, when it informs us that eager crowds were often attracted by His eloquence, and staid listening to His instructions."—pp. 97, 98.

Shall it be fairly said, there is something in the air of the last sentence, which does not please? Is it not rather too much like framing Divine Wisdom after human model? May not such a sentence be very well held up as a caution to others? For if in a work, the very subject of which is to trace tokens of *the Divine*

glory streaming, as it were, through the veil of Christ's human flesh, a work breathing a deep spirit of reverence, such a writer and thinker as Mr. Ogilvie—apparently from over accommodation to popular ways of writing—be surprised into phrases like these, to say the least, so little suited to the high and mysterious subject, would not others do well to abandon a way much in fashion of speaking about the deepest religious mysteries in terms, which would be used for other ordinary matters? Why should turns and expressions, which give an air of human policy and adroitness, be applied to that which is God's doing? Where God we know is acting in His own Person, why should we, by use of words and modes of speech, countenance that feeling of the world which likes not to contemplate and acknowledge His immediate and near agency, and influence and Presence, but puts it further away, by interposing other causes? And upon the explanation suggested in the whole passage can one help wondering, if it be correct, why our Lord did not begin His Parables earlier? Surely He must have known all along whether His mode of instruction answered the purpose intended, "for He knew what was in man." He needed not to wait till well nigh half His public ministry was passed through. One or two more disjointed remarks upon the subject and we have done, trusting that our cursory digression will not seem disrespectful to a work, which contains so much other valuable matter; and specially worthy of attention, for the notes and illustrations so judiciously appended to imbue students with the love of Christian antiquity.

1st. It by no means follows, because our Lord's Parables were spoken with an intended and studied obscurity, that therefore the method of teaching was *judicial and punitive*. It need imply

"No more than that between our Lord's chosen method of teaching and that moral condition of His hearers, which the prophet had long before described, there was a designed correspondence; in other words, that the former fitted and suited and was meant to fit and suit the latter."—p. 104.

But more, this very obscurity might be most mercifully designed to conceal from them knowledge, which they had not the right disposition to receive. Had more been disclosed their great crime against Himself might have been hurried on, and from their greater knowledge been more inexcusable. As it was, at the last, He prayed "Father, forgive them, for they *know not* what they do." Could He have so prayed had He made it as manifest to His very persecutors who He really was, as some readers of the Gospel may imagine, who think His Parables plain and that His mighty works were public before all the people?

2dly. As to the matter of fact, whether the Parables are plain

and easy to be understood or not, we would ask first if they were, how came it, that they were not more generally understood by those to whom they were originally addressed? Next we would say, that it is extremely difficult to determine how far the Parables would explain themselves to those, who heard them for a first time. We are scarcely in a position to judge; though undoubtedly once explained, they take ready hold on the memory: and, the clue once given, are easily followed out. And if it be said (which we are by no means inclined to dispute) that young Christians do readily understand and perceive their meaning, we would suggest for consideration whether the readiness with which Christian children, and simple unlearned men, catch up the sense of the Parables, which the Jews perceived not, be not a token of the more abundant gifts of the Holy Spirit given in the Christian Church? "For the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God," "Because they are spiritually discerned."

3dly. If in interpreting the Parables we are to dwell on their main scope and purpose to the passing over their minuter features; if it is to be assumed that the several parts have not all their true and proper meaning, but are no more than fanciful imagery and embellishments—if it be wrong to conceive there may be remote and secondary senses "capable of being exalted to a far higher importance than any which the letter of the narratives can claim;" or if it be wrong to search after hidden and mystical meanings, and to meditate and, by help of other Scripture, to endeavour to determine a sense for all particulars in them, surely the way in which types and sacrifices and other symbols have been interpreted as shadowing Gospel truth is open to like objection? Are there not interpretations and applications of these made upon inspired authority such as, had they not been so made, would, upon the principle laid down respecting the Parables, be deemed far-fetched, fanciful, dangerous, and to no practical purpose?

4thly. Let it be considered, whether one should not be slow to condemn a manner of interpretation, which Christian antiquity has so generally sanctioned. It seems to us, that not one of the few Fathers of the Church, whose writings we may have happened to approach, would escape the censure conveyed in those lectures, for their manner of interpreting Scripture in general, and the parables, where they may have touched upon them.

And now to resume the subject in the words of the tract:

"If this view of the subject be correct respecting the Old Testament and the Gospels, may we not reasonably expect to find the same Spirit dealing with us in the same manner in the Epistles? And if we find what we might consider obscurities in the former, which had the effect

of misleading the unwary and inconsiderate, as the prophecy of Elijah, those of the supposed temporal kingdom, and, perhaps, the expression about the sword, misunderstood by Saint Peter : we know also from the authority of an Apostle, that there are things hard to be understood in the Epistles of Saint Paul, which are 'wrested to their own destruction by the unwary.' May we not suppose that the difficulties in the Epistles were intended to answer the same purpose as the figures in the Old Testament, and the Parables of the New ? Such was the opinion of Origen, who on the Epistle to the Romans thus writes,

(And this is the rather quoted, for those, who sometimes speak of the Fathers as having a bigotted and narrow-minded reverence for Scripture, and wanting in manly judgment on its difficulties. Could a perception of the difficulties in St. Paul be more keenly expressed, than to say that he wrote as if he had not his object distinctly before his mind, or could a more *reasonable* account be offered of them ?)

" 'It must be observed, as a general truth, that where it is the purpose to throw a veil over, or not openly to set forth the sentiments of truth, whether it be by the Spirit of Christ speaking in the Prophets, or by His Word in the Apostles, there is often a confusion (or obscurity) in the diction, and the order of the sentiments is not clear and unbroken, to prevent those, who are unworthy, from discovering, to the condemnation of their souls, things which it is for their good should be concealed from them. And hence it is oftentimes the case, that there appears a want of order and connexion in different parts of Scripture, especially, as we said before, in the prophetical and apostolical parts. And in the latter, especially in the Epistle to the Romans, in which things concerning the law are spoken of, and in such different ways, and under such different circumstances, that it might have appeared as if Saint Paul had not the object of that Epistle distinctly before his mind in writing it.' "

No one would question the fact, that there are difficulties in the Epistles ; the question is only whether they seem to illustrate the principle of reserve under consideration. The only point touched on in the Tract, by way of showing this, is the way in which the Apostle speaks of proportioning his instructions to the capacities of those, to whom he gave them. That moral capacities were what he intended, would sufficiently appear from two such passages as 1 Cor. ii. 13, 14, where he says, that as what he taught was not delivered according to rules of human wisdom, and to be received, not by attempting to explain, but by comparing spiritual things with spiritual, paralleling one part of God's dealings with another, so neither would the natural man (the mere intellectualist) receive them ; but they would be foolishness to him. " We have (says Theodoret on this passage) the witness of the Old Testament, and by that we confirm the New. For that, too, is spiritual ; and when we wish to show the patterns of our mys-

teries, we adduce the lamb, the blood poured over on the door-posts, and the passage of the sea, and the streams from the rock, and the supply of manna, and other things like these without number, and by the figures we establish the truth." And the natural man he explains to be "one who is satisfied with nothing short of his own reasonings, and who does not assent to the teaching of the Spirit," *i. e.* we suppose one who will not take Scripture accounts according to the manner in which they are presented to him in Scripture, but must be for explaining and rationalizing upon them. In like manner Saint Chrysostom—*ὁ ψυχικός ἐστὶν ὁ πᾶν τοῖς λογισμοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς δίδως, καὶ μὴ νομίζων ἀνωδεν τινος δεῖσθαι βοήθειας.* The other passage is Hebr. v. 14.

Something we think might well have been added upon the form of these writings. They are not elementary treatises, not orderly systematic statements of the Christian faith, nor do they severally profess to contain each for itself the sum of what is necessary to be believed; they are not calculated to bring people to their first knowledge of the truth, but are addressed to persons already more or less fully in possession of, and professing, it—to those, who are already Christians, and have been already instructed in the faith of Christ. They are therefore to be looked upon rather as containing supplementary instruction, on what they already had been otherwise made acquainted with—to remind, admonish, confirm, build up, in further knowledge, persons assumed to be in a certain stage, and with disposition to receive what should be written to them.

The point suggested for consideration is this, whether the form, in which that large portion of the New Testament taken up by the Epistles is divinely cast, considered simply as a way of instruction, does not exemplify a sort of reserve—in that things are taken for granted, hinted at, alluded to, partially and abruptly stated—subjects suddenly changed, and as suddenly resumed—matters doctrinal and practical mixed up—things for local reasons drawn out into a prominence and importance which otherwise (humanly speaking) would not have been given to them—much seeming to depend, as to present practical application of things said, on an accurate knowledge of the condition in the body of Christians addressed; whether these and other such points (ample matter for questions about which will arise out of a composition like a letter more perhaps than any other, particularly when treated and examined so critically as the Apostles' Epistles of course are), do not practically clothe them with a reserve, which will be seen through, more or less, according to the disposition and character brought to the study of them?

With the very short notice (p. 27) of the confirmation which

the Epistles give to his view, the case may be considered closed as far as proof, from the form, language, and facts of Scripture taken by themselves. The analogy of God's moral government to this system thus traced out and indicated in the New Testament, is afterwards pointed out in the second part of the Treatise. It is noticed, first of all, how all the best moral writers, whether sacred or profane, speak of a state of probation, as being one of increasing moral light, or of increasing moral darkness; that a good life is, in some especial sense, one of advancement in knowledge, and an evil life of growing and progressive ignorance. And further, that Scripture, in a most pointed manner, attributes this light and darkness—this kind of concealment and disclosure to the immediate agency of God. Thus on the side of disclosure, our Lord's words, "I thank Thee, Father that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and revealed them unto babes,"—and to Saint Peter, "flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father" and "no one cometh unto me except the Father draw him," and "if any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth" And no less clear are the statements on the side of concealment, *e. g.* hardening Pharaoh's heart—"if the Prophet be deceived, I the Lord have deceived that Prophet," "the Lord hath poured upon you the Spirit of deep sleep," "upon the ungodly He shall rain snares, fire, and brimstone;" and the expression common both to the Old and New Testament—"He hath blinded their eyes and hardened their hearts" "Surely (reasons our author most justly) such an identity of statement, under such a variety of expression, and in such variety of circumstances, ought not to be explained away, as if a mere mode of speech; but, on the contrary, we should consider, that, where the meaning is wrapt up by such difficulties on the surface, it is one of a high and sacred character." The infinite nature of this knowledge is next noticed, and the continued progressiveness with which it is more and more attained to by slow degrees: and that the practice of Christian graces (2 Peter, i. 5—8) being necessary to its development, or rather, perhaps, the very soil to be continually supplied for its growth, it must be entirely of a moral nature, and independent of any mere cultivation of the intellect.

We extract here some very striking reflections on God's punishing with blindness those, who approach sacred truth with a speculative mind instead of desiring knowledge, in order to obey God better, which is a kind of correlative to the preceding statement. They might be well considered by those, who have felt disposed to treat superciliously the sort of mystical system of interpretation to be met with in the Fathers in speaking of facts in the Old Testa-

ment: who would see mere fanciful exercises of ingenious intellect, or superstitious reverence for every sentence of Scripture, or marks of a want in comprehensive and enlightened views in those who could attach any deeper meaning beyond the mere letter to such things as the tree of life, from which Adam for his transgression was driven off—or in Gideon's fleece, or his victory by the lamps and trumpets—or in David and his men eating of the hallowed bread—or in the scarlet thread, the token for the preservation of Rahab's house—or in Elijah's sojourn with the widow of Zerephath—or in his stretching himself thrice upon the child—or in Elisha's mode of recovering the lost axe-head: or again, in their being backward freely to canvass and condemn the conduct of those, who, upon the whole, are commended as God's faithful servants, beyond such condemnation as Scripture itself has passed upon them. The first of these peculiarities, in their interpretation, seems to be, from their great reverence for Scripture, which made them ready to believe, that below the surface of historical facts, spiritual meanings might be concealed, and that, if like Jacob, they would wrestle with them, they might prevail and win a blessing. The other peculiarity appears to come partly from reverence to God, lest, in rashly judging, where He had not censured, they might condemn, what He might have imposed for purposes beyond their discernment; partly out of respect for the saints themselves, unwilling to doubt, that such would so act without good reason, and from sense of their communion with them. And surely this humble acquiescence in doubt, and a feeling that it were almost too bold to be blaming and deciding upon the conduct of God's saints on points where Scripture is silent as to praise or blame, betokens a very Christian temper: while the standing, as it were, on watch, tracing and gathering up all little particulars that come to hand, treasuring up and comparing, and endeavouring to find their full value, this it is, which fills the mind with a thrilling interest, engrosses the thoughts, and gives a keenness of moral perception quite unknown to the sceptical and thoughtless, however intellectually superior. The want of perception for such hints and tokens of deeper truths, being so far from a mark of enlightened superiority, as some esteem it, that it rather implies a dulled and defective sense—an eye of the heart not anxious to descry tokens of God's presence, and of His sacred verities near about them. Our author's reflections are as follows:

"It may be, that the coming to the knowledge of these may be, as Bishop Butler suggests respecting other things in morals, by a certain general rule according to progressive improvement in holiness of heart. For instance, it certainly is the case that all strong feelings are prone to catch at such intimations of themselves in all things, to take up circum-

stances the most trivial, to dwell on the derivation of names, and the like. Abundant instances of this will occur in the Greek tragedies, and on all occasions of excitement. There seems reason to believe that the Almighty has hid this vastness of analogy and type in His word and His work; and, of course, most of all, with respect to the highest truths, such as relate to our blessed Saviour's incarnation and death, and His own attributes. It seems probable, that, according to some great general principle, a fervent piety is the key to all these hidden stores of God, in a natural and almost necessary manner, as it might be. A tendency thus to interpret Scripture is observable in the most illiterate persons, under the influence of an unaffected piety. So that, independently of such a mode of interpretation being scriptural, and apostolical, and divine, such knowledge may be also the reward of affectionate devotion, in what we might call a natural way; and the contrary tendency, in a cold, sceptical, and self-indulgent age, may be according to the same general principle, God hiding Himself from them. For to say that such persons as the ancient Fathers were holy, self-denying, and devout, but at the same time were weak, injudicious, and fanciful, is to transgress the first principle in Christian morals, which is, that he who doeth the will shall know of the doctrine; for it is to say, that they do the will indeed, but know not the doctrine—that the tree is good, but not its fruits."

"It has been before alluded to, that these riches are all *secret*, given to certain dispositions, not cast loosely on the world; and the characters described as coming to this inheritance, such as the poor in spirit, and they that mourn, &c., may be considered as certain narrow and confined paths, leading to these riches of the kingdom. And it may be observed, that there is not only such distinctness and appropriateness in each, both in itself and when compared with the end designed, but likewise such a mutual connexion, that the attainment of the one disposition implies the other also in some degree; and that the attainment of all these dispositions is the natural and necessary result of a hearty, honest, and earnest embracing of religion. And, perhaps, the great end in which there may be found an union of all these beatitudes as existing together, may be that which is more peculiarly attributed to one,—namely, that 'they shall see God,'—see Him according to each of His various attributes, which their own characters most open to them. All of which implies, that they only who do the will can know the doctrine, however it may be thrown upon the world; that 'the secret of the Lord is with them that fear Him, and he will show them his covenant.'"

We beg attention to this last sentence. It goes to relieve those who agree in the view of this tract from the charge of taking upon them to withhold from others the knowledge of any of the Gospel doctrines. The practice of this reserve does not imply any *studied concealment*, as if, for instance, any particular doctrine were never mentioned, but that it is not brought out in the free and unguarded way, it might perhaps be, before those whose hearts are disposed by purity of life and self-denials

to its right reception. Can it be right, for instance, to enlarge glowingly on God's free mercy to the worst of sinners, or to quote solitary instances of His ready grace to men in danger of applying them to their own serious harm? Do not Scripture and reason alike prescribe for such, and all who have lived in *careless* and *sinful* ways, the doctrine of repentance, and just so much mention of God's gracious mercies as to encourage and cheer them in the difficult and heavy work? But to resume our quotation.—

“ The great doctrines which of late years have divided Christians, are again of this kind very peculiarly, such as the subjects of faith and works, of the free grace of God, and obedience on the part of man. They seem to be left in Scripture in a way to give rise to all these disputations among (if I may so speak) the multitude who are without : I mean to say among those who do not labour to obtain the knowledge of them by obedience, and in practical seriousness of mind (*i. e.* the disciples, of whom it is written, He said, ‘ Follow me,’ and ‘ they followed him.’) For they appear to be great secrets, notwithstanding whatever may be said of them, only revealed to the faithful. What I would say is, that fully to know that we are saved by faith in Christ only, and not by any works of our own, and that we can do nothing, excepting by the grace of God, is a great secret,—the knowledge of which can only be obtained by obedience,—as the crown and end of great holiness of life. Thus St. Paul, who had always laboured to have a conscience void of offence, and of all the Apostles had laboured the most abundantly, yet felt himself the chief of sinners. And Abraham says of himself, that he was but ‘ dust and ashes ;’ David, that he was but ‘ a flea,’ and ‘ a dead dog.’ May not all these difficulties be like those of the Jews, who knew that no good thing could be born of Nazareth, or like that which they seem to have suggested to startle the Disciples, ‘ that Elias must first come.’ For in *all* these things we seem to have Jesus of Nazareth going about still among us—hiding Himself from the many who are engaged in factious disputations concerning Him, or busied with their worldly views ; but here and there He is in secret disclosed and acknowledged.”

There is a section, which follows under the title “ that Christ, as seen in the conduct of good men, thus conceals himself ;” in which we could have wished that a word or two of caution had been added, on a point on which there seems opening for misrepresentation or misapplication. There is a class of persons in the religious world, entertaining peculiar views on certain doctrinal points, as grace, justification, and the influences of the Holy Spirit, who are often distinguishable in their outward deportment by an air of gravity distressing to beholders, and we are not quite sure whether some, hastily and superficially taking up with the general views here laid down on reserve in communicating religious knowledge, might not be inclined to adopt an

almost embarrassing retiredness of manner, and unusual gravity of demeanour on mention of any serious subject, with a view of encouraging and strengthening in themselves that sort of "solitariness of spirit" which is spoken of. Nothing, we believe, would be farther from the writer's thoughts than to countenance any such mistake; or another closely connected with it, viz. that of practically forming Churches within the Church, in order to keep distinct from those, who manifest by their deeds, that although "amongst us they are not of us." At the same time we do think there is opening for such mistaken conclusions; and we could therefore have wished, that some short notice had been taken of those texts of Scripture, which seem to encourage and recommend a free intercourse and open unaffectedness among friends upon the most serious subjects, nay, and even to speak as if there were a sort of danger in not having recourse to it. Such are the verse in the Psalms, "we took sweet counsel together, and walked in the house of God as friends," which, though prophetic of the traitor Judas, yet we imagine calls up, before many a reader, longing and often-recurring thoughts of what Christian friendship should be—or in the Prophet Malachi, "they that feared the Lord spake often one to another"—or such proverbs as "iron sharpeneth iron; so a man sharpeneth the countenance of his friend"—"as in water face answereth to face; so the heart of man to man:"—or in Ecclesiastes, "Two are better than one . . . for if they fall, the one will lift up his fellow: but woe to him that is alone when he falleth, for he hath not another to help him up," and "it is not good that man should be alone:" or such a passage as where St. Paul, writing to the Romans, expresses his longing to see them, "that I may be comforted together with you by the mutual faith both of you and me," as if the company and conversation of the simplest and least-instructed fellow Christian would be a very great joy and consolation to him: or again, when he hastens Timothy's coming to him, "Do thy diligence to come shortly unto me . . . only Luke is with me," as if depressed and needing social intercourse. And though we freely admit the irreverence and mawkish religious sentimentality which such passages have been made to bear the reproach of, and the truth of this counsel,

" Prune thou thy words, thy thoughts controul
That o'er thee swell and throng :
They will condense within thy soul
And change to purpose strong"—

yet there may be a formalism on the side of reserve, as on that of friendly communication. Either way too there is danger of pride

in some form or other, which had therefore need be remembered and guarded against. The practice of reserve also, particularly where *assumed*, even with the best intention, is not without its tendency to harm the character, and to induce an inattention to the wishes and opinions of others, and a feeling that none are in a position to counsel or advise. This is the rather mentioned, because the journal,* which is once or twice quoted in this Tract, supplies us with several passages, which would illustrate all we mean. The writer of it makes it a special subject of thanksgiving that God had blessed him with a holy friend, he reminds himself to look out for opportunities to be of use to the college servants,—lays down a rule about writing letters regularly to one, to whom he felt it due out of respect and affection—and about so behaving himself as not to be a weight upon others in society. Thus showing, that whatever reserve he might observe, he was thankful for, and used the blessing of the freest communication with friends, was continually looking out for occasions to do good to others, and not negligent about the smaller social proprieties of life, if they are to be called by no weightier name. We repeat, however, that we do not believe there is a word in the Tract inconsistent with what is here meant, only we could have wished the point had been touched, and the objection, or possible misapprehension, so obviated. Indeed, the very notion of an affected noticeable reserve—which says in manner, “I have a secret and wish you to see I have,” is entirely inconsistent with the principle under discussion.

After all, it may be doubted, whether such free communication as is sometimes beautifully pictured, be possible: for instance, whether such a family system as described in the Rectory of Valehead could be, or if exactly attempted, whether it might not lead to worse evil than it sought to prevent and remedy. It may be that communication, free, guileless, and without hypocrisy, *towards ourselves* or others, on the most sacred things, or on matters of deepest moment for our own moral condition, is impossible in our imperfect state—denied us at once as a punishment and a mercy. “To know even as we are known,” even as regards one another, is one of the felicities of the blessed in heaven; and attempts to get beyond this Reserve may be harmful to the moral character.

“ Each in his hidden sphere of joy or woe
 Our hermit spirits dwell, and range apart,
 Our eyes see all around in gloom or glow—
 Hues of their own, fresh borrowed from the heart.

* Vide Froude's Remains, vol. i.

And well it is for us our God should feel
 Alone our secret throbbings : so our prayer
 May readier spring to heaven, nor spend its zeal
 On cloud-born idols of this lower air."

And however, at times of depression or in uncertainties, the spirits are impatient of these unseen bands, binding them within, and to, themselves, which they long to break, and then find a check in others, they may be calmed and brought to control by the thought that all this may be for good, if it turn them to these better desires and ways of satisfying them.

But to return. We have found ourselves so unsuccessful in any attempt to give a just notion of the connection of this Second Part with the former, and with its own several subdivisions, that we have the less scruple in offering to the reader the whole of the summing up as it stands. The passage is long—but the matter full and pregnant ; each clause being in truth ample subject for a long and elaborate essay.

"8. *That the whole subject contains something analogous in each particular to the circumstances of our Lord's life.*

"Now the inference from the whole of this view of the subject is, that the Holy Spirit, in every way in which His dealings with mankind may be ascertained, is ever wont to throw a veil over His presence from the eyes of the world. That, as our Lord avoided the more public places for the manifestation of His Divine power and goodness, and went into the retired and despised Galilee, and hid His Divinity under the garb of humble and common life, so does He in the persons of His disciples, producing in them a tendency to withdraw themselves from the eyes of men ; so that of each of them it may be said, as it was of Him. 'He doth not strive nor cry, neither is his voice heard in the streets.'

"That, as our Lord wrapt up the most sacred and divine truths in parables and mysterious sayings, so we find, that in good men there is a natural reserve of expression, which is apt to veil from the world holy sentiments : in both cases the end is observed, of keeping 'that which is holy from dogs.' And that such reserve is apt to give vent to its own feelings, especially in such similitudes and dark sayings, as partake of the nature of what is infinite, and, therefore, to the world mysterious.

"That, as our Lord concealed His divine miracles, and could not perform them because of men's unbelief, and commanded others not to mention them, so does He now, in that He makes known to a good man a daily increasing weight of evidence, similar to the attestation of miracles, in disclosing to him those confirmations of his faith, which are opened to an obedient life, and by the harmonious language of all nature, all of which testimony He reveals not to others because of their unbelief. And, in addition to this, He has commanded His disciples not to promulgate to the world those good works which He Himself still works in, and through, and by them.

"That, as our Lord left the curious and worldly-minded Jew to his

own delusions, and answered him not, but left him to the difficulties which Scripture had thrown before him, in the solving of which alone, with a serious mind, could he find the truth; and did not explain to him his misconceptions concerning Himself: so is it also now with those who speculatively consider religious truth (the knowledge of which is the gift of God alone); they are beset with insurmountable difficulties, suggesting to them that 'this is not the Christ,' or leading to other practical errors.

"That, as our Lord disclosed the greatness of His divine power and person to a chosen few obedient and teachable spirits, limiting even that disclosure more and more; first to twelve, then to four, then, still further, to three, (as in the Garden of Gethsemane, and at the transfiguration, &c.): so does it appear that in morals, both when considered as separate from, and also when considered as including religion, there is something, which is called knowledge, which is infinitely great and good, which is concealed from all others, who are universally represented as being in a state of darkness and ignorance, and is thus disclosed to these alone.

"That, as He, who spake by the law and the prophets veiled the Gospel therein in type and figure; and because of men's disobedience 'gave them statutes which were not good, and judgments by which men should not live,' but led them on, by laws which satisfied not, to a secret wisdom, which good men perceived beyond: so also are there in morals, things which have led to much difficulty with speculative moralists, which are good and right to the natural man, but wrong in a Christian, on account of a further knowledge disclosed to the eye of faith: these are circumstances in which all that can be said is, 'this is He, if ye can receive it.' For, to the natural man, it is his boast 'to covet honour' of men, but to the Christian his shame. Thus also the Fifth Commandment contains the germ of all piety; and yet to the Christian it is said, he must hate father and mother.

"Lastly, that as the manifestation of our Lord was seen to imply some very great and peculiar danger, when the heart was not prepared to receive it; so do we find that whenever these feelings, which are natural to a good man under the protection of the Spirit, are violated, as by enthusiasm, it is accompanied by dangerous consequences. Not to adduce other proofs of this, we have the memorable one in this country, when there broke in upon us an age, which has been well called one of 'Light, but not of Love;' when the knowledge of divine truths was forced upon men of corrupt lives, and put forward without this sacred reserve. The consequence of this indelicate exposure of religion was, the perpetration of crimes almost unequalled in the annals of the world."

A very material objection against the whole view must occur to every reader's mind, from the many passages in Scripture seeming directly to oppose it. This is perhaps the most meagre part of the whole Tract, being just touched on p. 28. The passages explained are not the strongest, which make for an opposite view, and however satisfactory the explanations in themselves may be

they are too short, the whole matter being dismissed too hastily in, less than a couple of pages, and never stated as if it came before persons, as it does, in a very definite and precise form of objection, grounded, not upon a few isolated passages culled here and there, and unconnected with one another, but upon a broad and distinct characteristic, seemingly foretold with great positiveness concerning the nature of the Gospel kingdom. We will endeavour, in some measure, to supply this, which seems to us no small deficiency. The difficulty may be stated thus: How is it, if there be, indeed, this Reserve to be observed in communicating Religious Knowledge, sanctioned by the pattern of our Lord and His apostles, and traceable throughout Scripture, that prophecies should, nevertheless, seem to predict it as a notable characteristic of the Gospel, that it should be so very plain—that the simplest need not err in it—that there need almost be no teaching, for that its professors should be taught by a teaching independent of, and higher than man's? And do not such passages as the following seem to lead one to expect as much as this? "Whom shall He teach knowledge, and whom shall He make to understand doctrine? them that are weaned from the milk and drawn from the breasts. For precept must be upon precept, precept upon precept: line upon line, line upon line: here a little and there a little. For with stammering lips and another tongue will He speak to this people:" like nurses imitating children's talk, to be better understood by them. "Thy teachers shall not be removed into a corner any more; but thine eyes shall see thy teachers," &c.—"An highway shall be there, and a way, and it shall be called 'The way of holiness;' the unclean shall not pass over it; the wayfaring men, though fools, shall not err therein..."—"I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh: and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy," &c.—"The earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the glory of God as the waters cover the sea"—"The poor shall have the Gospel preached unto them," mentioned by our Lord as a peculiar mark of the Messiah's kingdom—and His parting charge to His disciples, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature;" or that in the prophet Jeremiah, "And they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, know the Lord.... for they shall all know me," &c.

Can a system of Reserve in communicating religious knowledge be consistent with such texts as these? Do they not plainly speak a directly opposite language? Let the following answers be weighed and considered, whether they do not amply satisfy the difficulty.

1st. It is obvious to remark that, whatever these passages

may mean, there are no less plain passages of another tone, which must have a meaning also. Such are these: "Verily thou art a God, who hidest thyself, O God of Israel the Saviour"—"It is the glory of God to conceal a thing"—"None of the wicked shall understand, but the wise shall understand." In the Psalms, "Upon the ungodly He shall rain snares"—"The secret of the Lord is with them that fear Him, and He will show *them* His covenant"—"Whoso dwelleth in the secret place of the Most High, shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty"—"In the time of trouble He shall hide me in His tabernacle; yea, in the secret place of His dwelling"—"He made darkness His secret place, His pavilion round about with dark water, and thick clouds to cover Him;" all implying a secrecy, and withdrawing of God from some, and allowing Himself to be found and known by others. Again, our Lord's words, "I thank thee, O Father, because Thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent . . . even so, Father, for so it seemed good in Thy sight"—and those of St. Paul, "God shall send them strong delusion, that they should believe a lie." Or elsewhere in the same apostle, "I have fed you with milk," as recognizing a difference in instruction for different persons; or the description of Wisdom and her ways, in the Book of Ecclesiasticus, particularly considering to whom the personification of Wisdom, both here, and in the Book of Proverbs, has been very generally taken to refer; "She is very unpleasant to the unlearned, &c." Why are one set of passages to be interpreted more literally than the other? Do not both describe methods in which God deals with men in regard of religious knowledge? And can any system be true, which is not consistent with both? Let this then serve as a caution against taking the authority of texts on one side by themselves, as conclusive. God's fore-knowledge, and man's free-will are proved each in different ways, the scriptural authority for one side, considered by itself, seeming to exclude the other. So too, St. Paul and St. James, as to faith and works. After a like sort, other doctrines may be offered. Hence, a text seemingly so strong as Mat. x. 27, "What I tell you in darkness, that speak ye in light: and what ye hear in the ear, that preach ye in the house-tops," should not be judged to overturn a principle which is also supported by so much of Scripture, whether in particular notices of God's dealings in times past, or in general statements, as that in Dan. xii. 10, of the system of His government universally; or as in notices in the Epistles, of different instruction for persons in different stages of religious and moral advancement. Rather, one should look out for some interpretation consistent with both statements. For instance: Do our Lord's words

necessarily mean more than this, that what He communicated to them *privately*, because men were unable to bear more then, was to be hereafter published by them according as they became so?

And now, since it has been seen that strong passages of Scripture may be adduced on either side, let the following suggestions be the rather weighed. 2. The principle of this Reserve does not, in any way, militate against the message of the Gospel being addressed to all. For its universality need not be affected by there being a certain order and progressiveness in the manner of communicating it. Undoubtedly, it is to be made known to every creature : but whether freely, and all at once, if it were indeed possible, or whether (necessarily or not) with a certain reserve, is an independent question. Neither, again, would its being easy to the simple and unlearned be at variance with a reserve in the manner of its communication, if the perception of the things thus withdrawn arises out of certain moral dispositions, and, in no way, depends upon any intellectual condition. 3. These passages may describe a result, to which the Gospel tends at last, without furnishing any rule for practical application in the mode of propagating it. 4. Let it be remembered in what manner the great prophecies concerning the Lord coming to His Temple were fulfilled : " Yet once it is a little while, and I will shake the heavens," &c. Mary and Joseph, Simeon and Anna were all the attendance to do Him honour, to witness and acknowledge His coming. How strikingly does this show, that the true fulfilment of prophecies may seem very inadequate to the letter of their declaration ! Those glowing descriptions may not imply any great change in the external appearance of the world, but only those high and heavenly privileges, which some may value and receive. They may be fulfilling and fulfilled, yet marked but by a few. 5. The blessings of Christ's kingdom, as contained in the Beatitudes, would indicate the same ; * blessings upon certain dispositions and habits of mind, and not otherwise promised. And the terms of the commission to make the Gospel known would confirm this. It was not simply to preach, but to baptize and make disciples, that is, to bring those to whom they made the Gospel known, under their discipline and training, and make them submit themselves to an appointed mode of initiation. In other words, a certain moral training was necessary before any were admitted to the privileges of the kingdom. Moreover the prophecies of the New Testament, concerning the growth and increase of all kinds of corruption in the Church, things in the latter days waxing worse and worse, would seem to point out that the blessings and glories of the Gospel kingdom were not

* See a beautiful passage before quoted from the Tract.

visible in the world, but secret and inward in the hearts of Christ's faithful few.

Lastly, the history of the early Christian Church exemplifies most plainly, that the spread of the Gospel and a system of Reserve, so far from being inconsistent with one another, may be said to walk hand in hand. When, it may be confidently asked, since the Apostles' days, has so much been done, and so successfully and well, both in depth and extent, for the spread of Christ's kingdom among high and low, all and every class and nation? Yet, there is no doubt that the Christian faith was then taught, and its privileges dispensed under a strict and systematic Reserve. One might say, the whole system of the Church towards those without, whether as unconverted heathens, or as catechumens under instruction—or persons under church censure and deprivation of its ordinances—was so carried on. Two
 † years, according to Bingham, was an usual time for persons to continue under instruction as catechumens, and if “in that time they appeared men of a good conversation, they might be allowed the favour of baptism.” Where great diligence and zeal were shown, they might be admitted sooner. Mere catechumens were divided into classes: according as they gave satisfactory proofs of sincerity, and according to the instruction which they seemed qualified to receive, being allowed to join in part of the public worship of the believers. In case of offences committed by them during the course of their training, they were put back, and not permitted to be present at the instruction of the more advanced, and their baptism was postponed. And where the offences were very gross and scandalous, the privilege of baptism was denied for years, and, in some instances, even to the hour of death. The following extract from Bingham gives the order in which these catechetical instructions were gradually opened to the learners.

“They (the teachers) usually began their discourses with the doctrine of repentance and remission of sins, and the necessity of good works, and the nature and use of baptism, by which the catechumens were taught, how they were to renounce the devil and his works, and enter into a new covenant with God. Then followed the explication of the several articles of the Creed, to which some added the nature and immortality of the soul, and an account of the canonical books of Scripture; which is the substance and method of St. Cyril's Eighteen famous Discourses to the Catechumens. The author of the Apostolical Constitutions prescribes these several heads of instruction. ‘Let the catechumens be taught before baptism the knowledge of the Father unbegotten, the knowledge of His only begotten Son and Holy Spirit; let him learn the order of the world's creation, and series of Divine Providence, and the different sorts of legislation; let him be taught why the world, and man, the citizen of the world, were made; let him be informed how God punished the

wicked with water and fire, and crowned His saints with glory in every generation let him also be taught how the providence of God never forsook mankind, but called them at sundry times from error and vanity to the knowledge of the truth, reducing them from slavery and impiety to liberty and godliness, from iniquity to righteousness, and from everlasting death to eternal life. After these, he must learn the doctrine of Christ's incarnation, His passion, His resurrection, His assumption; and what it is to renounce the devil and enter into covenant with Christ."

In the discourses at which they were present there was a Reserve in speaking of the mysteries of the Christian faith. Passages in which this is plainly stated are there referred to in St. Cyril, Greg. Nazianzen, Theodoret, Clement of Alexandria, and St. Chrysostom; and such phrases as that *ἱσασιν οἱ μεμνημένοι*, so often used in the last-named father. A passage of Cyril, quoted in a recent work, illustrates this whole subject so clearly that we shall extract it.

"All may hear the gospel, but the Glory of the Gospel is set apart for the true disciples of Christ. To all who could hear, the Lord spake but in Parables; to His disciples He privately explained them. What is the blaze of divine glory to the enlightened, is the blinding of unbelievers. These are the secrets which the Church unfolds to him who passes on from the catechumens, and not to the heathen. For we do not unfold to a heathen the truths concerning Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; nay, not even in the case of catechumens do we really explain the Mysteries, but we frequently say many things indirectly, so that believers who have been taught may understand, and the others may not be injured."

When the reading of Scripture, the sermon, and the prayers for penitents and catechumens were finished, care was taken that none should be left in the Church but those who had been baptised (who of course were also communicants), and then the Liturgy or Communion Service began. And as this strictness and reserve as to instruction in the nature of the doctrine and ordinances of the Christian faith was observed towards catechumens, so much more was it towards the heathen and unbelievers. Hence may be well understood how such strange and incredible stories should have been circulated and believed among the heathen, of the enormity of the Christian worship and practices; every kind of disgraceful reason having been surmised for the secrecy with which they celebrated the mysteries of their faith. The case of penitents, also, has been alluded to as exemplifying the system of reserve in the Primitive Church. For, indeed, the exclusion of offenders from the privileges of Christian worship, and the long and severe penances exacted of those, whose sins had brought scandal upon the body, was practically the system of Reserve applied and acted out in another form. Of course, knowledge once given cannot be forcibly resumed; all that can

be done, when persons show themselves unworthy of it, and that their use of what it has opened to them must be to their own and other's prejudice, is to withhold from them, as far as may be, its further exercise. The usages of the early Church then are a *practical* answer to the difficulty arising from those texts which speak of the Gospel being preached to every creature, and of its being easy of access and understanding to the humblest intellects. For if their never was a time when so much was so successfully done both for making the Gospel known to the unconverted, and for showing forth its proper fruits in the hearts and lives of believers, and that a system of Reserve was *then* distinctly recognized and acted on, does it not go far to show, that this is the sure way (humanly speaking) for advancing towards the true fulfilment of those very prophecies, which at first sight seemed to make against it? By her withdrawing and keeping out of sight for a while those sacred truths, which like well-springs send forth fountains of living water, though themselves hidden in the depths of the earth, she brought her children to know their use and value before she fully unfolded to them the secrets of the source, whence the glad tidings flowed. She taught them to know first themselves and their wants, and so led them on to desire after the means of satisfying them. She brought them low on the knees of their hearts before the majesty of God, before she disclosed to them all the gracious and merciful provisions for their recovery and salvation. And herein she followed the pattern of her heavenly Lord, who taught His disciples to take up their cross after Him, before they knew what was the mystery of the cross, by which He was to draw men unto Him. He taught them first to form and grave in their own hearts the future symbol of their faith, by a life of self-denial and mortification; and thus prepared to know the power of the cross, *then* He showed forth the doctrine in His own body on the tree. By training them to *act* the doctrine (if it may be so said) in themselves, to know subjectively what it was to be disciples of a crucified Master, He made them meet to receive the gracious mystery of the Atonement, and to glory in the cross of Christ, as at once the object of their faith, and the symbol of their rule of life. How very different this from the manner in which the sacred mystery is, in the present day, pressed forward by a peculiar school, whether for the conversion of unbelievers, or for winning back stray souls to their duty and allegiance. It is held forth, and touchingly depicted to all men indiscriminately, but specially to be laid hold on as full of virtue and healing efficacy by those, who are living in plain neglect or abandonment of their Christian calling. The characteristics of its full reception into the heart of any individual, seem

to be an entire disclaiming of any merit or desert in himself, a watchful jealousy of any worth or importance in any thing he can do—a casting himself upon Christ—a hearty, joyous, confident sense of the efficacy of that blessed sacrifice, as complete and life-giving to every one who so apprehends it, and to himself in particular—an affectionate acknowledgement of having been brought to feel and understand this—and an absorbing contemplation of that sacrifice without reference to the further necessary realization of the doctrine in his own practice. Hence it is made a matter of present triumphant satisfaction, and the place in the doctrine of such texts as the following is forgotten. The meaning of “the abounding of the sufferings of Christ in us”—the “bearing about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life of Jesus might be made manifest in our body”—the “filling up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in our flesh”—the knowing “the fellowship of His sufferings, being made conformable to His death”—seem lost sight of, and have no part in their system. It is made to convey present assurance and comfort, and to relieve us of the self-denial and severity of practical holiness; and of the anxieties about falling away from a state of grace, or of whether we dare hope God in His mercy will bear with “the dregs of a polluted life.” And it is by stimulating the affections, and kindling what are accounted feelings of fervent piety, that men are brought to cast themselves, in a way, out of themselves, and at once in full confidence of faith to lay hold of and apply to themselves the saving efficacy of this doctrine. Is it to be wondered at, that when so deep and mysterious a doctrine as the Atonement is put forward as though its heavenly grace and meaning may be at once apprehended and brought home by a sudden movement of the affections, or an act of the understanding, that there is an impatience of doctrines which require submissive, lowly faith, teachable acquiescence in doubt and uncertainty as to the immediate blessings on the practice of them, and steady and persevering self-denial? Is it to be wondered at, that Sacraments are slighted as formal, lifeless, and superstitious, while the feelings of the heart are rather made tests of right devotional exercises? Is it to be wondered at, that painful, self-denying obedience, the punctual practice of external services, such as public prayer and fasting, are regarded with suspicion as unspiritual, formal, derogatory to the Redeemer’s merits, and undue restraint on Christian liberty—that there should be a manifest tendency to explain away all mysteries in religion—that men should be offended at the notion of the severities of the Christian faith, and that the notion of any reserve in Scripture designed by Almighty God to answer certain moral pur-

poses, and brought out practically, as in the teaching and discipline of the early Church, should be impatiently rejected?

These few remarks have been rather added, because it is notorious how popular books of the day bring forward the doctrine of the Atonement, and press it in every rhetorical form as the great instrument for the conversion of the careless and ill-living.

But to return. There is one other objection which may be raised against the view taken in the Tract, to which an answer shall be suggested. If this holding back of sacred and important truths from men unworthy of them, whether in Scripture or in God's dealings with them elsewhere, be for merciful purposes, lest the knowledge should harm them, either by hardening them against the truth, or otherwise increasing their guilt, how comes it, that while there are many points, the intricacies, obscurities, or seeming inconsistencies in which give offence, and seem to prejudice men's minds against the truth, yet that upon other points the very plainness of sin, in simple statement of facts should be a stumbling-block. *E.g.* Certain great sins of persons in the Old Testament (as Noah, or David, of whom it may be said in his own words, "the drunkards make songs upon me"): who are nevertheless highly commended, and certain actions of doubtful morality, on which no disapproving judgment is passed. To speak plainly, how is it that Scripture should furnish the materials it does, upon the surface of it, for infidel scoffs, and ribaldry, and encouragement in sin? If so much is withheld in mercy, how is it that this source of mischief is left uncovered? It may be answered:—1st. God's revelation in general, considered as addressed to man, was given for the salvation of men, that is to say, its contents are chiefly ordered with a view to those who will be saved thereby; it is for those who make a right use of it, whether others arrest it to their own destruction or not. And are not these very cases alluded to the greatest consolation to contrite and penitent sinners? To see what long, deep, hearty penitence may do. How God does not wholly take His favour from those who grossly offend His laws, but upon deep and sincere penitence may be pleased to pardon them, and remember their sins and iniquities no more. Who can tell how many a sinner has, as it were, taken courage to repent, and been sustained in years of humble endeavours, and continual sorrow, and steady severe attention to the daily duties of his calling towards God and man, by this very case of David sinning and pardoned?

"Would'st thou the pangs of guilt assuage?

Lo! here an open page,
Where heavenly mercy shines as free,
Written in balm, sad heart, for thee."

2ndly. May it not be, that dispositions which cavil at and make shipwreck of their faith on such difficulties as these, are such as must be humbled, and brought down and made submissive, before they could receive the truth, and that, therefore, such stumbling blocks as these may be good, or even necessary, for men of this sort, if so be they may be brought to see there is no alternative for them, between a reverent faith and profane scepticism? Or at any rate, that they are not really more hardened against Divine truth than they were before, however they may take occasion from these to justify their courses or opinions. 3rdly. They who thus abuse these passages, do so with a conscious profaneness. They are aware all the while, that this is not the purpose for which they stand there. They do not derive their doubts from them, but bring them to them, and then raise a justification upon them. They are all along conscious, in their own hearts, that theirs is not the only possible view or explanation of these places. Are they not like the violent opponents of our Lord, among the Jews? They lay in wait for Him in His talk, pressed upon Him for answers, and listened only to raise objections and find whereof they might accuse Him. Though our Lord, in pity, was desirous to withdraw Himself from such, yet, when rudely and irreverently pressed upon by them, He no longer kept from them even that information about himself, which only stimulated their malevolence, and increased the guilt of their great sin.* 4thly. Would not the plain rules of holy living, and the positive denunciations against sin, so thickly scattered elsewhere throughout Scripture, secure any honest mind against the notion of these being interpreted into sanctions or precedents for sin?

But it is high time to say a few words on the practical conclusions of the principle under review. It must be allowed, that we are met at once with a host of difficulties, arising out of the particular circumstances in which we are placed in this age and country. For whereas, the Church *then* was surrounded by unbelieving opponents, towards whom a Reserve was, of course, natural; we all claim to be professors of the One faith. Whereas *then* new converts could go through careful instruction and training before being admitted to the Church; *now*, the Church's sanction of infant baptism seems to give a birthright claim to the unreserved knowledge and use of those privileges and mysteries which this principle, it would be said, is for withholding. And whereas *then* the Scriptures would be rarely known, and but portions of the sacred Canon, some possessing a copy of one book, or part of one, some of another, and even the Church, in particular districts, not being in possession of all the inspired writings

* St. John, x. 24—30.

for many years, and for that reason, many doctrines being taught and preserved by oral tradition, and so under a Reserve, and afterwards also the discountenancing the use of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue by the Church of Rome, kept up a Reserve in communicating religious instruction; *now*, Bibles are easily and cheaply procured, nor can people be checked in their use of them, or any system or regulation prescribed. And particularly the practice of infant baptism might be alleged as decisive against the propriety of using any systematic Reserve: in that it cannot be right (it might be said) to withhold any Christian knowledge, or Christian privilege, from one who is already a member of Christ, whatever might be justifiable and expedient towards persons yet unbaptized. But this sort of argument would be decisive against all Church discipline, for instance, against excluding persons from the holy Communion for unworthy living; for they are Christians. Let it also be considered, whether this sort of argument does not cut too deep in another way—whether similar principles of reasoning, though not in the same form, would not make against the propriety of Infant Baptism. Why should it be more objectionable to *withhold* from a person, for his good, some responsible privilege, to which he has a title, than to *impart* one to him without his knowledge, though it be intended also for his great good? If those who act in a manner as spiritual guardians may not withhold and use reserve in communicating religious knowledge, or giving access to religious ordinances, are they a bit more justified in imparting them, excepting on consultation with, and by consent of, the parties concerned?

Not, however, to attempt here offering any systematic application of this principle of Reserve, with reference specially to our own particular circumstances, let the following remarks be rather considered as hints, which might be variously and widely developed, to show some of the practical bearings of the subject.

1. Does not this view bring out in a very forcible manner the office of the Church as the divinely appointed medium, under whose guidance and sanction the truths of revelation are communicated? Scripture, on many points, both of doctrine and practice, and those some of the most important, admits of a considerable variety of interpretations, owing to what amounts practically to a kind of Reserve in its mode of statement. Now the Creeds, Catechisms, Liturgies, Canons, and customs of the Church, serve severally the purpose of guides through these uncertainties. A person is not, so to express it, left alone with the Bible to make what he can of it; to compare, deduce, systematize, and make the necessary qualifications for himself from among conflicting and apparently contradictory statements. He has

even, though without his own thought or knowledge, been put in possession of a general clue for doctrine, and been taught certain rules for practical duties. He comes to Scripture with a certain turn or bias; and as he reads and studies Scripture he finds fresh proofs there for the doctrines and practices he has been taught, while at the same time he finds a sense and meaning in passages in Scripture, which otherwise would in all likelihood have been overlooked. For him the Church teaches, the Bible furnishes authority and rules concerning the things taught. The Church has insensibly supplied a certain moral training, which gives him a deeper insight into Scripture, and removes a reserve, which others, without the same advantage, would not penetrate. For example, as to the doctrine of the Sacraments, the study of Christian antiquity—in other words, of the views held by the Church Catholic in her best and purest days—is, perhaps, the surest way to fix in one's mind a strong practical sense of the importance of certain doctrinal terms, that they would never have been so carefully maintained were they not symbols of mysterious realities; terms which, to superficial consideration, or to mere argumentation upon them, seem perplexing, unsatisfactory, technical, and unimportant; particularly in regard to the holy Eucharist, as to the acknowledgment of Christ's presence in it, and the doctrine of the eucharistic sacrifice, the ancient Liturgies, the terms and notices of the subject in the Fathers, (made, be it remembered, purposely with reserve, and in hints and allusions to conceal it from catechumens or the unconverted,) and the best writers of our own Church, will surely go far to build one up in the belief of these sacred mysteries; whereas in an age like the present, in which, with a large mass of Christians, Church authority has little weight, and antiquity is slighted, cold views have arisen, and men are inclined to deny that Presence altogether; while, on the other hand, the Roman Catholics, from allowing infallibility to the affirmation of a certain standing authority of the Church in each age, to the neglect of Catholic consent, have concealed the true doctrine under a low and carnal notion. In each case from neglect to "hear the Church," and from general decay of religion in the minds of men consequent thereupon, the true doctrine of Christ's Presence in His Church has been obscured and corrupted. "He is among us, and our eyes are holden, and we know it not;" or, as St. John says, "These things spake Jesus, and departed and did hide himself from them."

2. Assuming the account of the Reserve in God's communication of religious truth to men, particularly in Scripture; that He reveals Himself according as men serve and obey, and desire to

know Him, but withholds this knowledge from those not desirous of it, it will not be without its effect on the temper and frame of mind in which the sacred volume is studied and its meanings sought out, or interpretations and rules listened to, which go beyond us in depth and strictness. It would be approached with reverence and fear, as if all therein was holy ground; as if in all there was the voice of God speaking, though we perceived it not. Hence a humble, patient, teachable regard for every part of Scripture, looking wistfully, as it were, to every place as it comes before us, as having some profitable use and meaning for us in hearing, though we feel that we have not found it; like the prophet on his watch, watching to see what the Lord will say unto him: and so even where we make no attempt to determine what the meaning may be, or have to listen to parts with a kind of pain and shame, yet not venturing to pass them over as if their use and meaning were expended, as if worn-out monuments of what is past. Hence also shadows and traces of known doctrines, and subsequent revelations would be recognized and seen under kinds of type and figure in all parts: passages in the historical parts of the Old Testament or in the Law, to others useless, indeed a dead letter, become "living oracles," speaking of better things in the new covenant of grace. Something of this feeling, no doubt, it was, which made the old writers of the Church dwell at such length on passages which we too often, in a manner, give up, and suggest various incidental interpretations, not as if any, or all, were the whole truth, but as gathering fragments of the heavenly food "that nothing be lost." It was having a heart thoroughly imbued with faith in the unspeakable privileges of the Sacraments of Christ's institution, and overflowing with pious thankfulness, so that a word would present them to his thoughts, which animated a venerable Father* of the Church, and made him break forth into a noble passage (quite beyond the feelings of our days), on the mysterious blessings which water was made the instrument to convey, in commenting on St. Luke, xxii. 10, "there shall be a man meet you, bearing a *pitcher of water*." A like deep-seated reverence and habitual thankfulness for that same Sacrament prompted to another such thoughts as these, from mention of the visions of the Prophet Ezekiel being seen by *the river* of Chebar.

"By water," says Theodoret, "He vouchsafes the vision, signifying before-hand the means of salvation for all mankind, and foreshowing that knowledge of God, which should hereafter be to them, who fear Him, by the water of regeneration. Thus

* S. Ambros. tom. iv. p. 329.

also the divine Daniel saw those heavenly visions by waters; and Moses, the giver of the Law, having been cast upon the bank, *was saved by water*. Thus again, the well and the water obtained for him a wife; as fell out also to the patriarchs before him, not to Jacob only, but to Isaac also.”*

There is, indeed, no computing the greater edification and comfort which one person may gain above another from the same Scriptures. Some see things quite beyond the grasp of others, and gather rules of practice and instruction in doctrine from parts which others pass over. And this, be it remembered, from certain moral dispositions of the heart, a desire to see God and heavenly things every where, not from subtilty of intellect or learned scholarship, which experience would show cannot command it, however they may be able to minister and supply food to those higher gifts. Are there not many who really see no practical use whatever in a large part of the Bible, and so far from making their want of apprehension a motive to self-distrust and humility, they are apt to be impatient of, and lose their reverence for, those parts of it which they do not enter into? They do not seem to suspect there may be something faulty in themselves, which they should seek to mend, and *then* that they may hope to see deeper into the secrets of God’s word. Would not some of the advocates for changes in the Lessons for the Church services, and for making useful abridgements of the Bible, and for leaving out certain Psalms, do well to consider this? Might it not open a new train of ideas as to the causes of many Scripture difficulties, and of the scanty instruction which other portions afford them? And as what has been said bears upon the subject of difficulties in Scripture, from its seeming deficiency in parts in spiritual edification, particularly in the historical parts of the Old Testament, and in the ceremonials of the Law, or the details of Prophecy, so may the same principle be brought to bear upon its doctrinal obscurities. What is the temper of mind in which these instances of Reserve should be regarded? Surely again with humble patience, and with a reverent fear lest we should not see, what we are intended to see, not at all closing our eyes to the difficulty, nor being anxious to have all reconciled and explained, nor yet venturing to conclude, that what is not clear and positive cannot be of great importance how we hold it. Indeed, in instances which must be of the very deepest moment, where God’s power is present and works among us, as in the Sacraments, or other ordinances for special communication of divine grace, as Confirmation and Ordination, “we must expect to find in them some-

* Theodor. in Ezek.

thing that hideth itself, something like the personal presence of our Lord in His Incarnation, surrounded with difficulties to the carnal mind, withdrawing itself and leaving excuses for the Divine Power being denied; for did they come to us in a strong unquestionable shape, with the palpable evidence by some required, they would come to us in a manner unlike all other Divine manifestations." So that, in truth, what is sometimes triumphantly pointed out in proof of error, on high points of doctrine, viz. that there is a want of accuracy and certainty in the modes of statement, or that the notions expressed by them do not admit of exact and precise explanation, is indeed far from conclusive. So far from it, it should be expected that this very objection would lie against it, though it were the true and right view.

A further practical remark may be here added, as to judging on statements, particularly concerning matters of practice, which may startle us, and go beyond what we have been accustomed to hold, because it serves to illustrate a branch of the principle under discussion, which has not been noticed. If progressive holiness of life opens the way to progressive advancement in knowledge of Divine things, according to the saying that theology is a Divine life, or, according to a far higher saying and promise, that "the pure in heart shall see God," we should put restraint upon ourselves, when we hear startling statements, especially rules and practices for holy living, or duties recommended from those who we feel very far our superiors in all moral qualifications for judging, and whose life has been to give themselves wholly to these things. Without of course blindly acquiescing in what we do not feel the truth and force of, yet we should not throw aside the remarks, which have seemed to us somewhat extravagant. They should be kept and weighed—they should be carefully compared with what the precepts and patterns of holy men in the Bible teach. At least neither their unpleasantness, their calling us on to a higher rule of life than we are disposed to follow, nor their being opposed to our present theory of right practice, should make us discard them from our thoughtful remembrance. Many are the men who have begun by being startled and offended at what, after a while, has seemed to them the *only* right course of conduct, to say nothing of the cases, where reflection has brought a man to see, that what, on first hearing, he pronounced fanatical and absurd, is no more than the thorny path, which God's chosen saints in every age have trod; some distant imitation in real life of what Abraham, Joseph, Moses, David, Samuel, Daniel, the Baptist, or an Apostle, have done before. There are few, perhaps, who have been thoughtless and negligent in early life, to say no worse, who could

not instance in themselves some such change of sentiment. Let it suffice just to have glanced at this. It is too deep a subject to do more, being no less than how far the views of good men are to be regarded with a reverence *like in kind* with that we pay to things inspired. This is not a notion to be put aside by a few prudential arguments as to consequences and abuses from such a view. Do we not habitually address God as Him "from whom all holy desires and all good counsels proceed?" And how unspeakably gracious, and of what hidden depth of meaning, are such mysterious promises, as St. John, xiv. 23, and Rev. iii. 20, made to the obedient, and those desiring to fill their hearts and souls with the contemplation of heavenly things!

3. Something too may be here said on the way in which this view concerning Reserve might be supposed to affect the frame of mind for parochial duties. What is to be done? Are not all to be taught, to be reminded of their responsible privileges as Christians, and to be pressingly urged to use them? Can it be forgotten that, whatever their lives and inclinations, however they harden themselves against the rights of their spiritual birth, yet they are Christians nevertheless? That cannot be undone. A man can no more not have been a Christian, having once been grafted into the body of Christ's Church, than he can unmake himself. How then can any thing practical be said concerning Reserve here? Let us see by an imaginary case: how far it represents what may be of no rare occurrence, the reader must judge. Suppose a young clergyman to enter upon his duties with very high notions of the happy results for the amendment of men, which the Gospel must produce, wherever it is faithfully preached, and to give himself with an ardent zeal and industry to this work, and to look with eager and devoted anxiety to realizing, in some near degree, that which at his Ordination had been set before him as the end of his ministry towards the children of God, viz. "to bring all committed to his charge unto that agreement in the faith and knowledge of God, and to that ripeness and perfectness of age in Christ, that there be no place left, either for error in religion or for viciousness in life." Suppose him (and is it rare?) to meet with crosses and obstacles in his best endeavours; that his forward, plain-spoken earnestness should meet with coldness, incivility and slights, his zeal find little encouragement or return, and be sneered at as "crotchety extravagance," and "overdoing the thing;" that ingratitude, hypocrisy, and very bad actions come to his knowledge in those with whom he has taken great pains, and felt a corresponding interest. In short, suppose that after three or four years of unwearied exertion he looks round and sees his flock apparently much as it was when

he began, and his own health and spirits failing under repeated disappointments; to find that, do what he will, men will not be what they ought, and are not to be affected by the great realities of another world, whether of mercy or of judgment, so as to keep them from the sins and vanities of this. Has not many a clergyman so begun, and then, in bitterness of heart, and despondency, and weariness at unsuccessful efforts, gradually subsided into the prescribed round of his public ministrations, as if glad as he would be to spend himself in all other ways, he had tried it, and found it of no avail? Has not this been the secret of many a case, where great zeal and diligence have been succeeded by inactivity, and an outward coldness and want of interest in his parish? Now would not such an one have found a protection against some of these feelings—(at least that they should not make him give up his ministerial activity and care for the souls committed to his charge)—in a juster view of the Gospel dispensation, which is closely connected with the subject of Reserve, viz. as a stone of trial, and to them who “hold the truth in unrighteousness a savour of death unto death?” Looking to this side of the Gospel dispensation, it is a trust committed to him, for carrying on of God’s purposes, whatever they be.* He has to set up a witness, whether men will hear or whether they will forbear. Hence it might, perhaps, be truly said, considering the nature of parochial duties among people of all shades of religious earnestness in feeling and practice, that heaviness of spirit should mix with the feelings with which they are discharged, as if doing what, if one only thought of those addressed, one would gladly hide from them: but they are Christians, and must have their message delivered to them. Is not our Lord’s life and ministry a most remarkable example of this tone and manner of communicating religious knowledge, fearfully and dejectedly offering the heavenly provision, lest His hearers should not be of dispositions to receive and profit by it?

Lastly, if it were to be asked, how in matter of fact could a person begin to make a practical difference, and draw a line in his manner of communicating sacred things, it may be answered at once, without pretending to go deeper into the matter, that the sort of embarrassment and diffidence with which one would speak on any subject, in which both we and those whom we addressed were deeply interested, even though they considered it not, and where things ill-advisedly spoken might do great harm, and prejudice men against the truth—a subject too on which we felt a continued incompetence to speak worthily, whether as to

* See Bp. Butler’s Sermon for S. P. G. P.

reverence, or as to power of expression and explanation, or as to clearness in our own views, the embarrassment and diffidence produced by these mixed feelings would, we imagine, insensibly make a person practise a Reserve without fixed rules or system. He would do so, because he could not help it, because he would feel it improper to do otherwise. Again, the fear that many of those whom we have to speak to on the most sacred things, are not in a right frame of mind to receive them, and that from such, so far as they are such, God withholds those bright rays, which gently shed the light of His secret truth into the soul, must insensibly influence the particular topics chosen, and the way in which they are put forward, and the fulness and unreserve with which one would say all that one desires. And it may be, that this very awkwardness and weakness, which seem to leave more unsaid than is laid open, and to speak with a kind of constraint, and to unfold with seriousness and graveness of spirit, what though in truth the greatest and most joyful of blessings, may yet be a harm to those who hear it, will no less do its work, than what might seem more affectionate and winning representations of that side of the Gospel, which speaks only to those who will be saved thereby.

4. To recur once more to the Tract for a passage, which well deserves thoughtful pondering :

“ But the one great practical consideration, and which contains in it all others which is to be gained from a due regard to the whole of the subject which has been investigated, is one which is full of awe indeed, but also full of consolation, as tending to keep the mind quiet, in times of universal movement and excitement. That Jesus Christ is now, and has been at all times, hiding Himself from us; but at the same time, exceedingly desirous to communicate himself, and that exactly in proportion as we show ourselves worthy, He will disclose Himself to us; that if we constrain Him, He will come in and abide with us; that unsatisfactory as human knowledge is, and the increase of which is the increase of care, a knowledge which puffeth up, yet that there is a knowledge which humbleth, which is infinite in its nature, and is nothing else than deeper, and higher, and broader views of the mystery which is hid in Christ.”

Before any one allow himself to dismiss this passage as mere mysticism, as fanciful and over-wrought, let him reflect what is the meaning he attaches to certain quotations of Scripture which he may himself at times use, or allude to. What does he conceive to be implied in quenching the Holy Spirit? in grieving Him? in His withdrawing—that Christians are temples of the Holy Ghost, God dwelling in them and walking in them? What in the promise to the obedient, already referred to, of His making His abode with him and coming in to him? Does he believe

these imply the actual in-dwelling Presence of God, and the possible increase and withdrawing of that Presence? If so, can this changed condition to greater or less fulness of that Presence be without proportionate increase or diminishing of perception, knowledge, and desire for heavenly things? Can we count the Divine Presence *passive*—to be expelled or gained by our own act and preparation of heart alone? If not, is there not implied in these phrases an increased communication of Himself to Christians, or withholding of Himself from them according to certain moral dispositions in them? And what does this come to, but the very Reserve which is the subject of the Tract we have been considering? Is not one reason, why this last extract may startle and offend some, because it brings the notion of these mysterious things so very close—so practically near to us? Is it not that there is something very over-powering and awful in the notion of God being so near to us, which we shrink from realizing to ourselves, as feeling ourselves so under rebuke before that Presence, so utterly unworthy to be subjects of it? Do we wonder, that when we call to mind what our thoughts, and desires, and words, and actions are habitually employed in, we should hasten to escape from the thought, as from something more than we can bear, that our Lord imparts His heavenly grace, nay even Himself to us, or withdraws it, and withholds Himself according as we habitually approve ourselves to Him, and seek for and desire Him?

We have long ago gone beyond all the limits we had set to ourselves at the outset of these remarks. But matter has grown upon us. We have, however, but two more observations, which we desire to set before the reader in conclusion. First, to remind him that the *principle* affirmed in this Tract, that there must be "Reserve in communicating religious knowledge," is no new development. People (one might say) have ever for the most part acquiesced in and acted on it in some form or other, whether they realize it to themselves or not. Secondly, we would suggest to any reader of it, not to consider isolated Scripture testimonies adduced, and because many do not seem conclusive, to infer that the proof as a whole is defective. Surely the proper way is to note whether they do not all, more or less, fall in with and illustrate the position maintained; and whether they do not remarkably arrange themselves about it. Some seem to speak more positively than others, others may seem of very doubtful interpretation; but the thing to be considered is surely, whether, allowing the principle as a clue, they do not thus admit of being harmoniously explained. Let these two observations be taken into account, and let a person give the Treatise a thoughtful

reading, and as if desiring to weigh it impartially, and we are much mistaken if there are not many who would find that they will afterwards feel something practical come of it in themselves—they will insensibly use a sort of Reserve—they will feel a backwardness in freely speaking about the deep and secret mysteries of Revelation, before those whom they do not much know; and in what they say, they will think more of Him, whom they concern, His honor, and what is most fitting as regards their conduct towards Him, than of the effect, what they may say, will have on those whom they address. They will think much of that secret Presence, which is so very near, and with which is the well of life, and desire so to order themselves, that more of it may be vouchsafed to them.

ART. II.—*Travels in the Three Great Empires of Austria, Russia, and Turkey.* By C. B. Elliott, M.A., F.R.S. 2 vols. Bentley. 1838.

WE never fell in with a writer who showed such a horror of the inconveniences of foreign travel, yet who with his eyes open had submitted himself to such voluntary discomfort as Mr. Elliott. He had to absent himself from England from ill health; and he is not content even with Ovid's exile in Pontus; but after voyaging down the Ister amid rocks and falls, he betakes himself to Scythia, shivers with cold, sickens of hunger, and cloyed of vermin in Bessarabia, crosses to Crim Tahtary, and thence goes to Constantinople to meet the plague, which is there raging; then he coasts along the bays and promontories and amid the pirates of Asia Minor down to Beyroot in Syria, and thence performs a land pilgrimage to Jerusalem, when he falls ill of a fever, and the work closes. Such is the termination, we are sorry to say, of the wanderings which indisposition forced upon our author, a termination as contrary to the rules of the *Epopée*, as to any but the Homœopathic system of physicking.

There is a story of an Englishman, who, when told of the miseries of foreign travel, said that he was not particular, for so that he had a knife and fork and a good beefsteak for dinner of a day, he could with good heart dispense with every thing else. Mr. Elliott has no such gross dreams floating before him; yet he is not the less possessed with a vision of ideal comfortableness, and is the victim of very definite imaginations, which are never gratified. He is a scholar and an accomplished man; but above all he is a refined English gentleman, and he seeks to be comfortable

and English with so strong a yearning, that he woos comfort, "otium divos rogat," in a steam vessel on the Danube, in a Moldavian hut, in a lazaret in Bessarabia, on the steppes of Tahtary, on the inhospitable Euxine, in the ruins of the Seven Churches, and amid the desolateness of Syria and Palestine.

It is this phenomenon, the impression of which is carried off by the reader of these volumes. They do not disclose nearly so much about the countries they advertise, as about Mr. Elliott himself; or at least their principal charm lies in the relation existing between the traveller and his adventures, in his exquisite appreciation of the worth of every thing of English manufacture, whether English comfort, or English Ultra-Protestantism, and his consequent annoyance, dejection, or contempt when he meets with things and persons moulded upon a different standard.

He began his voluntary pains in a steam vessel on the Danube in the autumn of 1835; and the first shock which his feelings received arose from the straitened dimensions of its cabin, which was the occasion of some of his female fellow passengers undressing in his presence. Now he certainly mentions breaches of decorum on the part of passengers of his own sex, which might have been avoided, but we do think him somewhat too hard on these unhappy women. The chief part of their offence in Mr. Elliott's judgment is their not being conscious they were committing any; and yet when he gets to Constantinople, in spite of his own sensitive refinement, he cannot enter a whit the better into the feelings of the Turkish women, who in turn accuse English women of forwardness in making a display of themselves in public at all. He says—

"When she [a Turkish female] appears abroad, she is so wrapped up as to conceal her face, any exposure of which, however partial, is regarded as a violation of delicacy. A Frank lady informed us that one day, in the street, her arm was rudely seized, and separated from that of a gentleman who escorted her, by a Moslimah who felt her sex dishonoured by such familiarity; and we heard from another that, only three years ago, a green veil was pulled off her head by a Turkish female, enraged at seeing the sacred colour defiled by contact with an infidel so indelicate as to exhibit her face."—vol. i. p. 442.

Mr. Elliott's notions then of decorum move on a precise and fantastical line; yet from the following remarks on Turkish customs, which he gives from a modern writer, one would think that he had imbibed something of a more philosophical spirit.

"The abhorrence of the hat is well known; but the uncovering of the head, which with us is an expression of respect, is by them considered disrespectful and indecent. A quaker will give no offence by keeping on his hat in a mosque, if his shoes were left at the threshold.

The Turks turn in their toes; they mount on the right side of the horse; they follow their guests into a room and precede them on leaving it; the left hand is the place of honour; they do the honours of the table by serving themselves first; they take the wall and walk hastily in sign of respect; they beckon by throwing back the hand, instead of drawing it towards them; they cut the hair from the head, and remove it from the body, but leave it on the chin; they sleep in their clothes; they look upon beheading as a more disgraceful punishment than strangling; they deem our close and short dresses indecent, and our shaven chins a mark of effeminacy or servitude; they resent an inquiry after their wives as an insult; they eschew pork as an abomination; they regard dancing as a theatrical performance only to be practised by slaves; lastly, their mourning habit is white, their sacred color is green, and their holy day is Friday."—vol. i. pp. 444, 445.

Mr. Elliott, however, in spite of his better knowledge, will look for England in every droshki and caïque, and above all, for comfort. For instance, on entering the cuddy of the steamer, he found "the air of the room fraught with unsavoury odours and almost suffocating, several of the passengers having embarked the previous evening, and passed the night in the cabin with every door and window closed."—vol. i. p. 72. When dinner was expected "vociferations commenced: 'Jacob' was called, commanded, scolded, and abused, but without effect. An universal roar was then raised for *fleisch, fleisch, fleisch*, followed by a bacchanalian yell for *wein, wein, wein*."—p. 76. In Servia he had to pass two nights in "*discomfort*," "on benches and tables without change of clothes."—p. 88. At Belgrade, "close to the sacred edifice," he says "is the abode of the archbishop, a miserable dwelling, *wholly destitute of comfort*."—p. 104. He returns from thence to Semlin in a carriage, which was provided with a seat, "*not very uncomfortable*."—p. 106. The pleasure of his excursion to Mehadia, "was much diminished by the weather and the *discomfort* of the vehicle."—p. 134. He starts from Teraspol "*lamenting the miserable accommodation* afforded by Russian inns."—p. 249. At Odessa he tells us "there are *no comfortable inns*."—p. 256. The "venerable archbishop," who is president of the monastery of St. George on the Crimea, has "but one chamber," and in it "only a table and chairs, a sofa and bed."—p. 333. At Baidah he is compelled to sit like the Tahtars, with his legs crossed under him, "*no easy position for a Christian*."—p. 337. In the archimandrite's house at Magnesia, though "the best in the town, not Turkish," Mr. Elliott's room "was *neither large nor comfortable*."—vol. ii. p. 68. The house of the archbishop of Philadelphia, "*is neither large nor handsome*." When Mr. Elliott dined with him, "as a mark of special attention and kindness, the archbishop every now and then proffered us little

balls of rice rolled with his fingers and dipped in gravy, which after witnessing the process of manufacture, *it was impossible to swallow.*"—vol. ii. p. 93. And at the khans in Asia Minor, a traveller can but procure "a cup of *sugarless* coffee."—p. 100. Servants are great plagues every where; but what shall we say to the domestics in Moldavia, whom Mr. Elliott thus describes?

"Moldavian domestics appear to be indolent, stupid, and immoral to the last degree. They require to have the same order repeated every day: when the dinner-cloth is laid by one who has performed the office for months, the mistress must sit by and say, 'Now put on the spoons, now the salt-cellars, now the tumblers, now the knives,' and so for every separate article of table furniture: when reproved, they stand mute, and look on the ground; but neither profess nor exhibit an intention to do better. Their inclination to theft is irresistible; a lady residing here told us that it frequently happened that her pocket-handkerchief, laid down for a moment while she was speaking to a servant, disappeared as she turned away her head: the culprit at first denies the charge; and when the stolen article is found upon him, he evinces no sense of shame."—vol. i. pp. 203, 204.

But the most strange instance of this sort of criticism upon external things occurs in his visit to the Mosque of Soliman at Constantinople. He mentions the necessity of taking off the shoes on entering it, and implies that some persons might have a scruple in doing so. A religious scruple the reader is likely to suppose; no such thing; he goes on to obviate it thus, "*We took off our shoes as a matter of course; a compliance from which we suffered little inconvenience, since the marble pavements are always covered with Indian mats or carpets, never soiled by the sole of a shoe.*"—vol. i. p. 362.

Such is Mr. Elliott's sense of the refined and comfortable; and that it is keen may be conjectured from the resignation which breathes in the following meditation on the steam navigation of the Danube:—

"It is true, the *inconveniences* we encountered are considerable; but then, no one should *venture* on the excursion who is unprepared for hardships and harassing delays, for it cannot be expected that a project which has to contend against so many obstacles should be perfected at once. *Instead of complaining*, a traveller of an *enlarged and philanthropic mind* will turn with admiration to the enterprize and patriotism which have set on foot so grand an undertaking, and to the important moral consequences likely to be the result, remembering with satisfaction that steam is calculated to prove the precursor of civilization, civilization of education, education of religion, and religion of happiness!"—vol. i. pp. 191, 192.

Frequent indeed, as we may easily conjecture, were the calls on our traveller in the course of his wanderings for "enlarged and

philanthropic" feelings. Some glimpses of these have already been given in the foregoing brief intimations; but they deserve to be set before the reader with something of distinctness and circumstance. We present him then with sketches of some of the miseries both of a sea and land journey. First, of the land journey.

"There is but one mode of travelling in Syria. Carriages and carriage-roads are unknown; and the sure-footedness of the asinine race points out mules and donkeys as preferable to horses on the dangerous heights and almost impassable tracks which form the only communication between distant spots. A traveller in these regions has no reason to expect wholesome food, except when he may secure accommodation in a Greek or Latin convent: under other circumstances, he must depend entirely on his own provisions. A village will yield him generally sour, and sometimes fresh, milk, eggs, and *dibash*, unleavened cakes which he can ill digest, and bad water. In the towns he will purchase live fowls, rice, and coarse bread; the fowls must be carried ready cooked, and the stores laid in must be proportioned to his distance from the next market. The mattress he takes with him will be unique wherever he goes; and as to further luxuries,—the remembrance of the land in which he is travelling and its surpassing interest must supply to him the place of superfluities. The most serious annoyance to which he is subjected results from the perverseness of the muleteers. Whatever amount be offered by a Frank for mules, it is unusual for the owners to consent without the interference of the authorities, accompanied generally by blows. When the cavalcade is set in motion, the pace at which it advances is about two and a half miles per hour; and the traveller is sometimes obliged to stop sixteen, twenty, or thirty times in the course of a march to refasten on the animal the luggage, which would never have shifted had it been once properly secured. At the close of a long day's journey, worn out with fatigue and the vexation occasioned by the muleteers, *he expects and finds no comforts*. Instead of the officious alacrity of waiters and the self-satisfied smile of a portly landlord, to greet him and conduct to a clean apartment and wholesome repast, he marches in slow and solemn procession to the house of the principal man, or sheikh, who appoints a room in which the party is to be housed for the night, and perhaps sends a tray containing some milk, eggs, and unleavened bread, with *dibash*, for their supper. The room may be such as Khan Hussein, or it may be better; shared or not, as it happens, with the mules or with twenty dirty Bedouins less clean and wholesome than the animals. No door secures him against the intrusion of twenty more; for in most cases the room is public property, set apart for strangers, and all are equally welcome: a door, therefore, which might lead to exclusive appropriation, is regarded with religious aversion. The first night passed under such circumstances converts the clothes of the stranger into an entomological menagerie, in which every variety of insect familiar to the country may be found; many, which amongst us are nameless or named only *sotto voce*, here obtain importance from their numbers, and celebrate a long carnival upon his fasting frame."—vol. ii. pp. 252—254.

The distress of his voyage is more concisely but not less significantly given.

"My little cabin, regarded by the captain as most spacious and handsome, measured about six feet by three, independently of two recesses each calculated to contain a mattress. It had neither window nor door; but through an opening in the deck a man could let himself down into it, though egress was somewhat more difficult to an inexperienced climber. This opening, while it afforded light and air, exposed the interior and its contents to the full view of the hajeess, who, during the time of our companionship made a point of sitting before it to watch all my proceedings, and to amuse their children by pointing out a thousand wonders in every action and every article of the first Englishman they had seen.

"In order to secure his services when they might be required during the night, I had intended my servant to occupy one of the recesses in this little apartment; but a single experiment convinced me that such an arrangement was impracticable, for the smell peculiar to all Arabs was in Ibrahim's case absolutely unbearable: he had but two suits of clothes; the one, in which he exhibited himself to be hired, glittering with gilt braid, and looked upon by its owner as unrivalled; the other, substituted as soon as we went on board, old and tattered, worn through many an Egyptian summer, filthy as the muddy banks of the Nile, and enjoying the privilege (unshared even by half a shirt) of immediate contact with a body washed once a year."—vol. ii. pp. 144, 145.

But the flower of his miseries, briefer indeed than others according to the old stoical maxim, "*si gravis brevis*," but very acute, was his treatment on entering the Russian frontier at Liova. It is curious on several accounts, and we shall accordingly indulge in an extract of considerable length. It will be observed that Mr. Elliott had been expressly warned at Vienna "that it was impossible to conceive the inconveniences to which those are exposed who enter Bessarabia," owing to the jealousy of the Russian government.

"It was past nine in the evening when we found ourselves among some huts on the bank of the Pruth, at a spot dignified by the high-sounding title of *Porte de Liova*. By the light of the moon we discerned a ferry; and the loud cry of the guards, stationed on the opposite side and answering one another at short intervals, indicated the vicinity of the Russian quarantine, whither we were bound. This cry of the sentinels is wild and singular. It consists of one high note, which they usually sustain as long as the breath permits, when they conclude by descending the scale in semi-tones.

"A hard-featured, passionate man, roused from his slumbers, soon answered the call of our driver, and came out to ask what we required. We intimated by signs that we were desirous of crossing the river to Liova: to this he replied by violent gestures and unintelligible vociferations; and after a fruitless effort to persuade him to comply with our

wishes, we were beginning to make arrangements for spending the night in the carriage, when a more respectable person accosted us. He understood just two words of German; "To-morrow morning;" by means of which he intimated that we could not cross the ferry till the following day; and at the same time conducted us to a miserable hut, where a woman and a naked child, rolling themselves off a plank, placed it at our disposal. In a corner, two more children lay on the mud floor. The stove, a broad bench on three sides of the room, and a stick suspended from the ceiling, on which several articles of dress were hanging, constituted the only furniture. Three holes in the wall, provided with pieces of bladder removable at pleasure, served to admit light, but did not exclude the air. Such was our apartment. Our companions had a similar one in another cabin. In a few minutes the vehicle was unloaded and the baggage piled before the door to barricade it against intruders; when, partially undressing and wrapt in our cloaks, we lay down to sleep, with the two children in the corner, thankful for a sheltered spot in which to rest our weary limbs.

"The following morning we awoke to a sense of our miseries, and saw by daylight the full extent of the wretchedness by which we were surrounded. The screaming of the children had compelled us in the middle of the night to put them into the outer room, and they ceased to disturb us: but not so the insects by which we were almost devoured: an entomologist might have made a fair collection from the various species of our tormenters. On opening the door, we found ourselves enveloped in a thick mist; the Pruth flowed under the wall of the hut, and the eye could not penetrate the dense vapour that arose from its surface; but as soon as this was dissipated, we descried the roof of the Russian quarantine on the further side of a low hill, and recognized in it the site of our future prison. In vain we traversed and retraversed the village in search of some one who spoke French, Italian, or German; but not a creature was to be found whose attainments extended beyond a knowledge of the Moldavian dialect. The uncourteous man who the preceding night had impressed us with no very favourable opinion of his disposition, verified to-day the estimate we had formed of him; and to our signs, soliciting a conveyance to the opposite shore, he replied only by negations issued with all the assumption of petty authority. In this painful situation we passed several hours, without the possibility of moving or of procuring bread, meat, clean water, or the common necessities of life; till, in the afternoon, a flag raised on the Russian bank intimated that strangers might cross the water: at the same time several Jews arrived, some of whom spoke broken German; and from them we learned the real cause of our detention, namely, that the bureau is opened only twice a day, and on Sunday, which this happened to be, but once."—vol. i. pp. 216—219.

Accordingly our traveller or travellers (with Mr. Elliott the pronoun "we" is sometimes singular, sometimes plural,) cross the river, present their passports, and ask leave to enter into quarantine; the commissary, who spoke no language but Russ, sig-

nified in reply, by means of a Jew as an interpreter, that they must go back and return the following day.

"We represented that we had already lost time by the arrangements which prevented our reception the previous night; that we were now in a spot where the necessaries of life were not procurable; that we had literally passed fifty-four hours without washing our faces, from the impossibility of procuring any water unmixed with mud, and that we had spent two nights without enjoying the comforts of a bed; that to force us to remain longer in such a condition was cruel, and that some consideration ought to be manifested. All this touched not the heart of the commissary, who replied only that the law must be obeyed. Before we left, the doctor of the quarantine, who spoke a little French, arrived, and acted as interpreter. Having heard our just complaint, he kindly interceded for us, but without effect; and the sleek little commissary desired him to apprise us that the law requires every foreigner, not French, bringing a French passport, to be detained beyond the frontier while inquiries are instituted regarding him; nor would he understand that the passports of all English travellers are necessarily drawn out in French, that being the diplomatic language of Europe . . . Doomed to pass another day in the miserable Port of Porte de Liova, it was a source of thankfulness and surprise that the means professedly intended to prevent our carrying infection from countries where it was well known no contagious disease existed, did not themselves induce illness; a result which would probably have ensued, but for the wholesome food supplied by our kind friends at Galatz.

"After a second doleful night, we arose with such strength as survived the attacks of the insatiable insects, and were happy to see the flag flying at eight o'clock. Again we resorted to the office of the commissary, who said that it was impossible we should be received, because we must previously take an oath, and we did not understand the Russian language. We inquired why the oath could not be translated? 'Because nobody can translate it.'—'Where is the doctor?'—'He may perhaps come to-morrow or next day.'—'Is there no one in the town who talks German, French, or Italian, and who will translate the oath for a handsome remuneration?'—'No, nobody!'—'Will you not communicate the substance of the oath to one of these Jews, and suffer him to repeat it to us?'—'That is impossible—a Jew cannot administer an oath to a Christian.'—'But a Jew can inform a Christian what he is called upon to swear?'—'No, he cannot take the name of Christ.'—'A Jew often does take the name of Christ, though in blasphemy: however, the word is the same in all languages; let him interpret the rest of the oath, we can supply the sacred name.' The absurdity of this conversation was the more glaring, as a Jew was at the time actually naming the name of Christ in his office of interpreter between us. To suppose the commissary could not understand the feasibility of this arrangement, were to suppose him without reason, but he would not. We offered him a piece of gold, which he refused, and went away, leaving us to decide whether we should go back to Galatz or make one more effort to overcome the vexatious annoyances of a Russian frontier."—vol. i. pp. 220—224.

At length they gained permission to enter the house of quarantine; as a preliminary to which they were obliged to make an inventory of all the articles of their luggage. This they did by means of a Jew who spoke a little German and Moldavian, and a Moldavian who spoke a little Russ. The narrative proceeds:

"Arrived on the Bessarabian bank and now in the empire of Russia, we marched in procession, accompanied by a number of Jews going to see their friends, to the office of the commissary, who, after sundry forms and much delay, placed in our hands a French translation of the regulations of the quarantine, all of which were enforced under penalty of death: These being read, we were required to take an oath of obedience, and to give a solemn promise that we would secrete nothing from the inspectors. The great doors were then opened, and we were admitted with our baggage, which was laid out upon the grass, every article being taken separately from the boxes and compared with the inventory written on the other side of the water. The exact number of gold ducats and silver rubles possessed by each of us was entered; every scrap of paper, rag, and leather was examined, and the list made doubly correct; yet, two days afterwards, an official was directed to inform us that a pair of braces was not recorded, which with some garters was then formally added to the catalogue. It is not possible to conceive, without personal experience, the rigidity of this investigation. At length, the shadows of night drew over the horizon, and we were permitted to retire to our apartments; having previously bespoken the best in the quarantine, and particularly requested that mattresses might be hired for our use from the town.

"Our room, floored with brick, was eleven feet square and seven high; it contained a stove, a small deal table, a wooden stool, and two frames of bedsteads supplied with narrow planks which did not nearly meet one another. This was literally the whole furniture of the apartment in which we were destined to pass four days and nights; there were none of the innumerable little comforts required in a domestic ménage, nor were we permitted to provide them at our own expense. The door opened into a small enclosure, six yards square, in which a soldier, called our *guardian*, remained day and night, the gate being locked at sunset on him and us, and the windows fastened on the outside. One of these (for there were two) faced the little quadrangle, so that the *guardian* could inform himself of all we did; and between eight and nine o'clock in the evening he insisted on our putting out our candle and fire; a requisition the more vexations, as the place swarmed with field-bugs and fleas to such a degree that, every second hour of the day and as long as light was allowed, we were compelled to wage war against them; giving, as we received, no quarter. For a candlestick we were provided with a piece of clay; a soldier's old cloak, with a coarse canvass bag, was given as a covering for each bedstead; thus no very promising prospect opened before us. We were told that there was a Jew *traiteur* who provided food; but on our admission, he had left his shop for the day, and the following was a Hebrew festival; so that, but for own

little stock, laid in without the slightest anticipation of being placed in such circumstances, we should probably have become ill for want of the necessities of life.

"The first morning, the doctor paid us an early visit to enquire, as well he might, how we had rested on our hard beds, and to tell us that permission would be granted to purchase from the Jew some hay to convert into paillasses the sacks thrown over the bedsteads; he likewise informed us that all our goods must be suspended, or spread out, under a roof surrounded by trellis-work, there to remain for three days to be ventilated and purified. But another difficulty had arisen. Our passport was drawn out on the twenty-ninth of August at Vienna, and a visé appeared on it which, according to the doctor, bore date the twenty-fifth of August. This looked like fraud, and we were responsible. The document was produced, and the visé proved to be written on the eleventh of September; the entry, however, was in German; and the German running-hand S is not very unlike an O with a flourish; the doctor therefore declared it was October: we reminded him that the eleventh of October had not yet arrived; and that, even if the secretary of a public office had made the blunder supposed, a traveller should not be held accountable; at the same time we maintained, that, in point of fact, the word written was September, not October; nevertheless, he strongly asserted his acquaintance with German, and it was not expedient to dispute it. At length he departed, and we heard no more of the passport being in French, nor of the date, nor of any other difficulty connected with it."—vol. i. pp. 226—234.

"On the fifth day preparations were made for our liberation, which, however, was not effected as readily as we had hoped. Early in the morning the doctor paid us a visit to assure himself that we were in health. We were then required to take an oath, enforced by a reference to God's presence and the anticipation of his 'terrible judgment,' that we had complied with all the requisitions of the establishment; that we had not been in contact with any person, except those of our party, during the time of confinement; that we had thrown nothing over the walls; and that everything belonging to us had been aired and *turned* each day. To the last clause we objected, observing that, however anxious we might have been to comply with the instructions received, yet it was scarcely practicable to handle daily each minute scrap of paper, &c. and that certainly we could not swear that this had been done. Our hesitation gave rise to a discussion between the doctor, the commissary, and the director, as to whether we should be detained. At length, it was decided that all our things had been turned *en masse*; and with this understanding, we were suffered to depart."—vol. i. pp. 231, 232.

When they at length got into the town, they found it "crowded with Jews all talking German," in spite of the commissary's assurance that Russ was the only language spoken.

Mr. Elliott reaped the benefit of this painful initiation into the dominions of the Autocrat, by gaining ingress in consequence into the 'Crimea, the beauties of which he describes in glowing

language. He is especially delighted with Count Woronzow's *English mansion* now building, of which and its gardens he gives an eloquent description. The count is the present governor of New Russia; and Mr. Elliott says that his "personal exertions and influence have converted the wilderness into a terrestrial paradise."—p. 342. He speaks of the peninsula as abounding in majestic scenery, and covered with gardens, orchards, and vineyards, which seem to strike his imagination more than the mountains, whether of Hungary or Asia Minor.

The following extract will give the reader an idea of Mr. Elliott's style; though we wish he had not defaced it by an irrelevant and in itself most postposterous remark towards the end.

"As we glided along, village after village passed before our eyes like the scenes in a *camara obscura*, each beautiful in its way, and each succeeded by beauties different, but not inferior. Foros and Nitschatka are picturesquely situate on the slope of the Ayila chain of mountains, among forests which give cover to herds of deers and antelopes. Beyond these is Simeis, the residence of Madame Narischkine, whose father, General Rostoptchin, is believed to have set fire to Moscow, of which city he was the governor when Napoleon entered it. Proceeding a little further, Aloupka, *Χάρπαξ* of Ptolemy, a lovely spot embellished by the taste of its proprietor, Count Woronzow, dawned on our view. Here we were saluted with nine guns, and the same playful compliment was repeatedly paid to the name borne by our steamer, 'Peter the Great.' On the adjoining estate of Count Narischkine, olives, pomegranates, and figs grow in great luxuriance, with vines which produce the best white wine of the country, called Risling; while the neighbourhood is famous for its Pineau fleuri, a red wine resembling Burgundy, which is made from a vine called Pincau. A beautiful white structure towards the east, surmounted by two towers, proclaims the residence of Prince Galitzin, whose assistance in missions entitles him to the gratitude of every lover of that cause; and next to this is the cottage of the Princess Metchersky, *who is said to have distributed more Bibles than any other female in Europe*. After passing several country seats, all built within the last seven years, and the imperial gardens of Oreanda, the private property of the emperor, we landed at Yalta, a village on the south-east point of the Crimea."—vol. i. pp. 285, 286.

The mention of Bibles in this extract, to which we just now alluded, reminds us that we have not done justice to Mr. Elliott's work, till we show his vivid perception, not only of the comfortable, but also of the ultra-Protestant. How extreme a Protestant he is, may be conjectured from his speaking of "the *unscriptural* God of Mohammed."—vol. ii. p. 444; but we would forgive him this, if he had not a savour of another school about him. Indeed his theological opinions, we regret to say, afford us very little satisfaction; and to tell the truth, this is the main con-

cern we have with his volumes, which we should hardly have thought it necessary to notice, were we not alive to the evil of lax opinions, such as his, being scattered through Europe, as if in the name of the English clergy. One indication of his state of mind was incidentally mentioned several pages back; and we must say, the general tenor of his remarks does but confirm what there seemed intimated, that a gentleman, who is endued with such shrinking delicacy as regards the proprieties of society in a steamer, and such acute sensibility as regards archiepiscopal and clerical discomfort, yet, unconscious of it as he is himself, is not gifted with equal quickness of feeling as regards the *honour* of religion. He is but partially alive to the risk of approaching the confines of truth and error, nor does he understand that his sense of indecorum might advantageously be elevated into a reverential feeling. The following references will show too truly the correctness of this representation.

We do not for one instant accuse Mr. Elliott of any wilful profaneness—the notion is absurd; but we are sorry to detect in him, what is a great fault in religious matters, a want of duly realizing what he is doing or talking about; so that he will use solemn words to round a sentence, speak disrespectfully of sacred subjects, or commit doubtful acts to serve some purpose of the moment; and all this with the same unconsciousness which he imputes to the unrefined women in the steamer. He has, in his conduct towards religion, a rude, coarse, indelicate manner about him. Speaking, for instance, of the site of a heathen oracle, he says,

“The oracle is no more! The deceivers and the deceived now blend their dust around the uncertain seat of the idol they adored, awaiting the solemn call which shall summon them to the bar of the *divine iconoclast*.”—vol. ii. p. 195.

Again, speaking of the holy sepulchre,

“Here seven large silver and forty-four smaller lamps are ever burning, while in the adjoining chapels incense ascends day and night, and prayers and praises are offered without ceasing *to the incarnate God*.”—vol. ii. p. 447.

There is something very observable in his mode of speaking of the ancient people of God, whom he unscrupulously degrades to the rank of heathens or Mahomedans. Thus he says that “the principal object of desire with the Moslim, as with the Hebrew women, is children”—vol. i. p. 441; that “the special honour conferred on the parental relation has characterized the inhabitants of Syria from the days of Rachael to the present”—vol. ii. p. 281; that the Turks, “like the Jews, identify their civil polity with

religion"—vol. i. p. 445; and that "among the ancient Jews storks were held in abomination, as we learn from the two last books of the Pentateuch."—vol. ii. p. 38. In another place he has the following most strange explanation of the anathemas found in the book of Psalms; he has been speaking of the recent conscription at Damascus, then he adds,

"Surely it was the sight of tyranny embodied in effects like this—such as men living under a Christian government and well-defined laws cannot conceive—that led David to utter certain denunciations against tyrants *which appear to militate against the principle of universal charity*. But if the execution of God's wrath on oppressors, and the manifestation of his abhorrence of their cruelties be essential to the well-being of society, then may the infliction of punishment on those who in being to such an extent the enemies of man are especially the enemies of God, be the legitimate object of a righteous man's desire."—vol. ii. p. 289.

Yet, while he is thus critical and apologetic as regards the ancient people of God, he seems, as is not unfrequent with men of what he calls "enlarged" minds, as if out of mere perverseness, to take their apostate and rejected descendants under his "philanthropic" consideration. He talks of a "venerable son of Abraham," whom he fell in with in a ferry-boat, commanding "our respect by his age, and our interest by his birth."—vol. i. p. 320. He visited a Karaite settlement in the Crimea, where he sees "a number of aged Hebrews in Tahtar costume, with long flowing beards, sitting in conclave"—vol. i. p. 309; and he moralizes over their burying place in the following pathetic way:—

"It lies in a fissure of the mountains, and is darkened by the shade of numerous venerable trees, which cast a sombre hue over the graves, and give effect to the scene . . . Our last impression of Jorfud Kelah were such as to induce a regret that we were compelled to hasten away, and that our visit could neither be prolonged nor repeated. *Yet so it is! a regret is mingled with life's every pleasure.*"—vol. i. p. 317.

We have noticed our author's complaisant recognition of the sanctity of a mosque. He repeats the same civility in the Samaritan temple at Nabloos. "It was with *no common interest*," he says, "that we entered into the synagogue of these remarkable people, as a prelude to which they required that we should take off our shoes."—vol. ii. p. 397. That there may be no mistake, he ingenuously adds in a note, "the fact of the Samaritans requiring strangers to take off their shoes marks an *interesting distinction* between them and the Jews; as it intimates that they look on their place of assembly for worship as a temple; a light in which it is well known the Jews do not regard their synagogues."

Evidently he is quite at his ease among heretics and misbe-

lievers. Accordingly he speaks of being conducted to an object of his search in Constantinople "by the kindness of a Turkish gentleman, who heard our dragoman inquiring his way."—vol. ii. p. 374. The same tone, for it is of *tone* that we are speaking, is observable in other passages, as where he speaks of "the Moslem house of prayer," "from whose *consecrated* summits the muezzin invites the congregation of 'the faithful' to the adoration of an anti-Trinitarian God"—vol. i. p. 352; of "the elegant *sacred* edifices erected by Mahommed II., &c."—p. 357; of "all the *sacred* structures being surrounded by a gilt crescent"—p. 368; or when he speaks of his own sensations on witnessing the worship of the False Prophet.

"Time will not soon efface from my memory the impression first made, and often renewed, by the sight of hundreds of Mohammedans prostrating themselves and bowing their foreheads to the ground in the great mosque of Delhi, incomparably more splendid than any building existing at Constantinople, while the imam chanted in slow and solemn accents, and in the sonorous language of the Koran, 'God is great and merciful. There is no God but one God, and Mohammed is the prophet of God.'"—vol. i. p. 363.

Such is his praise of Islamism; his blame is equally unreal and rhetorical; he speaks of Turkey and Persia "exhibiting the remarkable phenomenon (*so characteristic of a fallen world!*) of two monarchies indebted for their origin and continuance to a religion of lies, and founding their political institutions on the reputed visions of an Arabian impostor."—p. 422

On the other hand, with the same forgetfulness of the difference between Christianity and heathenism, he makes out Greeks, and of course Romans, to be far worse than Jew and Turk. Sometimes indeed he does praise an archbishop as "a portly and pleasing man"—vol. ii. p. 91, or even as "venerable;" but on the whole it is easy to see that he has no sympathy with them as rulers, or even as members of the city of God. He speaks of his host at Pergamus as being "a man of comparatively *enlightened* mind," (*enlightened* is his praise of the Sultan,) and as "expressing himself with some degree of *liberality* on religious subjects."—vol. ii. p. 136. He adds "his nephew is more fully emancipated from the *trammels* which the Greek *heresy* imposes on its votaries." In like manner he elsewhere speaks of the "moral degradation" of the present inhabitants of Palestine, not as being Turks, but because "sunk in the *darkest* errors of the Greek and Romish *heresies*."—p. 216. He says that "a *false* faith and a *dead* faith divide the land. *Mahomet* and *Mary* are raised to an impious rivalry of,"—and then he adds the name of the true God by way of completing his antithesis,—p. 293. He

credits the most unfavourable reports of the avarice of the Greek clergy (one should have thought that mere brotherhood in suffering would have restrained a clergyman from this kind of slander); and gravely records the following gossip, which, even if true, avails to show the parties criminals only on the supposition that bad men, and none but they, have a conscience.

"The owner of an English merchantman trading between Trebizond and Smyrna told us that two of his passengers were a bishop and archbishop of the Russo-Greek church. The vessel encountered a severe gale and was nearly wrecked. The two prelates manifested the greatest terror, and began to *confess their sins to one another*. They then implored our informant to put back; and, conscience-stricken, declared, like Jonah, that the storm was sent in token of divine wrath against their impiety. Shortly after, the captain succeeded in making a port, when they left the ship and pursued their journey by land."—vol. i. p. 463.

Perhaps the "owner of the English merchantman" did not know of the existence of a text with which his frightened passengers were complying when they confessed their sins one to another, or that the Greek Church enjoins it. As to Mr. Elliott he either did, or he did not.

However he can, in due measure, be liberal to the Greeks and Romans; let us see how.

"The *routine* of church duties entirely engrosses the clerical members, Forms are multiplied without number; and the greater part of the night as well as of the day, is passed with rosaries, crucifixes, and missals. To a Protestant some of their services appear a solemn mockery: but God judgeth not as man, and perhaps under many a pharisaical form and monkish cowl, the Searcher of hearts discerns rectitude of purpose and an earnest desire to honour him."—vol. ii. pp. 368, 369.

Yet, after all necessary admissions on the score of the undue sacrifice of practical to devotional duties, and of the impropriety of "rosaries and crucifixes," missals one should have thought no great offence; somehow one should have fancied that devotional books imply the performance of certain devotional acts, and that even the use of rosaries and crucifixes are ordinarily not unattended with an observance which Mr. Elliott does not show that he recollects any better than confession,—prayer.

Mr. Elliott is full of complaints of the forms, legends, and relics of the foreign Churches; nor do we mean to defend them. However, he finds at Buda the following more appropriate memento of a great reformer; "a silver *goblet* which belonged to Martin Luther, formed into a likeness of his *wife*."—vol. i. p. 63. No wonder, living in the habitual influence of a system which is illustrated by such interesting memorials, he entertains the fol-

lowing relative view of the two great divisions of foreign Christianity.

"The progress of religion has not kept pace with its early advances in this once hallowed spot ; and yet there is not one of the Seven Churches of Asia Minor within whose sacred precincts the trumpet of the gospel now gives so distinct and certain a sound. While Mohammed is acknowledged in twenty mosques, and Jews assemble in several synagogues, the faith of the Messiah is taught in Armenian, Greek, and Catholic churches. Yet it is not in the exhibition of Christianity thus perverted and dishonoured that we can rejoice : happily, her doctrines are set forth, sabbath after sabbath, in a purer form, in English, *French*, and *Italian*, in two *Protestant chapels* ; one connected with the English, the other with the *Dutch* consulate."—vol. ii. pp. 45, 46.

He goes on to compare the ministers in these heretical congregations, (for so the conventicles of Calvin may far more truly be called than the Churches of Greece and Rome,) to no less a person than St. Polycarp.

"In Smyrna alone, Greeks, Armenians and Catholics are instructed in intelligible accents ; and five resident Protestant ministers labour as missionaries, striving, at however humble a distance, to tread in the footsteps of 'the blessed Polycarp.'"—vol. ii. p. 46.

Shortly before, he had to all appearance brought himself, at least in his aspirations, into a singular relation with the same primitive Saint. Speaking of his martyrdom, he exclaims :—

"Standing on the spot which witnessed this memorable event, the Christian must be cold indeed whose heart does not kindle with a fervent desire that a *double portion* of the spirit of Polycarp may rest upon him !"—vol. ii. p. 44.

It is safe to make these antithetical statements between parties at the distance of 1700 years ; but we suspect that, did the holy bishop appear to Mr. Elliott in that life which he really lived in the flesh, the latter would pronounce his "abode" to be a "miserable dwelling, wholly destitute of comfort ;" nay we should not be surprised if his creed and worship needed that finish which, in Mr. Elliott's judgment, pure Protestantism would have given to it. Sad indeed it is that an accomplished man like Mr. Elliott should not have a more clear perception of the principles of the Gospel, and should have had the opportunity of visiting such deeply interesting places without the due gifts of mind to profit by them. And with this reflection we take our leave of his volumes.

ART. III.—*Church and King*. By Edward Osler, formerly one of the Surgeons to the Swansea Infirmary. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1837.

FIVE or six years ago there was a panic in the Church. The Reform earthquake, and the previous land-slip of the Emancipation Act, had shaken all existing institutions to their basis; the Irish Church bill, as a chasm, yawned beneath our feet; and Church people felt so tottering and dizzy, they hardly knew whether they stood on their heads or their heels. So long had they been accustomed to secular aids, to a majority in the House of Commons, to the umbrageous shelter of the aristocracy, to the good understanding between the Church and the most influential interests in the country, and especially to the various ways in which its temporal prosperity seemed entwined with that of the landowner; that they almost gave up all for lost, when these securities were gone or impaired. Nay, it was thought wrong to hope; despair seemed the only right mode of viewing things, and a sacred duty. To think it possible that good might come out of the calamities of the time was thought as bad as giving them a direct countenance. Sad realities, and indefinite dangers, vied for the pre-eminence. It was like the suspense of a man who has just had a severe fall, or whose house has just come down over his head; for one or two dreadful moments he knows not whether he is stunned and insensible of pain, or really sound in limb—he knows not whether to open his eyes and try to move. The imaginary climax which Horace brandishes before the man of constant mind, *si fractus illabatur orbis*, had actually come to pass. That political fabric, in which all the labours and all the hopes of that generation seemed to be compromised, was lying in ruins on the ground. Toryism, which had for a century been as it were the secular domicile of Church feeling, and loyalty, and patriotism, had become extinct. When the Church was no longer identical with the state, then the object of Tory affection, a consecrated kingdom ceased to be. “There arose up a new king over Egypt, which knew not Joseph.” The sovereign had ceased to be constitutionally Defender of the Faith. The title still remained, as did the title King of France, for ages after our sovereign had not a foot of land therein; and the sovereign might still have, and shew, a preference for the Faith. But he had become pledged by the laws of the realm to afford equal space and opportunities to all religions, and therefore to be defender, not of one Faith, but of all the faiths which his subjects might adopt or devise. If therefore the Tory could still regard the person of his sovereign as holy, for he was still God’s anointed, yet that

sanctity was tied and bound, under bondage and profanation. But though the *objective* part of the Tory system seemed thus to pass away, the sentiment could not, as it had deeper root than in the voices of a multitude, or the suffrages of a chamber of worldly statesmen. The feelings remained, though homeless, orphan, and widowed. They could find no political centre, no secular habitation; so that, for a time, the nation presented the fearful spectacle of all the enemies of true religion and order combined in one phalanx, under the cry of Reform; and no other phalanx, no other rallying point to be seen in the whole horizon. Politically speaking, the greater part of the nation were become as sheep without a shepherd.

Some were not utterly confounded by this emergency. They were prepared for it. They had felt keenly the thralldom of these later ages, and the long established encroachments of secular tyranny and profaneness in sacred ground. They had checked, not with the plea of comfort and expedience, but of resignation, that rising impatience which has driven so many unstable minds and undisciplined tempers to the opposite poles of will-worship, Popery, and dissent. But though they had schooled their inward yearnings into submission, they could not be satisfied with the warm, but stifling, embrace of the state. The mind accustomed to contemplate the Church in her age of comparative freedom and purity, φέρει μὲν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' αὐχέν' ἐντιθῆις ζυγῶ. Therefore, while they could complain with the many, "Who will show us any good?" they answered with the few, "Lord, lift thou up the light of thy countenance upon us." They saw that the right use of the times was to make the Church the new centre of man's social affections. They listened attentively, and heard midst the strife of tongues, as it were, the still small voice of a Divine oracle, *Antiquam exquirite matrem*. Indeed, there was a simultaneous movement in this direction throughout the kingdom, though taking different forms, and from seemingly different impulses. Thus how many became then "sick of politics." In numerous households, where the *paterfamilias* had been accustomed most religiously to read through the more striking speeches of the debates, ostensibly at least for the benefit of the rising generation, the pious custom ceased, the immemorial usage was forgotten; the newspaper had lost its chief charm; the deliberations of senators had sunk into the wranglings of a godless rabble. We could mention persons who have never read through a single debate, or even speech, since Lords Harrowby and Wharnccliffe gave the last illustration, if any was still wanting, how little confidence is to be placed in the sons of men. Surely we may say of the English mind, as contrasted with the French, the American,

or the German, that it does not feel any deep or abiding interest in any question not immediately domestic, unless it seem to have a religious character. Hence it is that the chief political demagogues in our large towns are so often the dissenting preachers; and the chief speakers on the liberal side in parliament make so much pretence of appealing to holy aims and sacred associations. So far we rejoice to find Sir James Graham saying in his speech at Glasgow, though we hope he will by and bye see a higher meaning in his words than at present; "Let them point out a single instance in which the mind of the country had been effectually roused, and it would be found that religious defence was the strength of the conflict."

When, therefore, the Reform Bill was seen to clench the degradation of the English Church, many who had seemed to be political religionists were weaned from the passing interests and idle brawls of a mere profane forum, *res Romanæ, perituraque regna*; and as it were gathered up and saved their wasted affections for objects of more enduring concern. We ourselves, six years ago, on being introduced to a prelate well known for his strong views in politics as well as theology, were warned beforehand to make no political allusion, and informed that his lordship made a principle of seeing no newspapers, nay, that the temporary illness which at that moment he was suffering, was owing to an accidental infraction of the rule. Four years since we heard another well known divine of some standing, whom the world at the time supposed to take no little interest in the political struggles of the day, excuse himself from expressing any opinion on them, as he had long since given up all secular reading, and devoted himself to divinity. "Let me have your remarks on the tactics of the Conservative party," we wrote a few weeks since to one whom we knew in times past to pore over the newspapers as diligently and regularly as the Athenians frequented their Agora, "I know nothing about them," was the reply, "as I never read the newspapers now."

It cannot be denied that, up to the epoch of which we are speaking, Church feelings had been much alloyed with faction. But circumstances, or rather generations, not individuals, are to blame, if many good and high-minded men, thought the battles of the Church were to be fought in election committees and hustings; in pamphlets, popular addresses, and newspapers. They could not choose their own ground, or their own mode of warfare. Aristotle says he is the best shoemaker who makes the best shoes out of the materials given to him; so did the persons we speak of resign themselves to the earthly *medium*, wherein they were then obliged to give utterance and efficacy to heavenly

principles. We always have to do violence to our tastes in some of the Church's most necessary work. What could be more revolting to the pious mind than the disputations of the schools? What can now be more so than the controversy with Dissenters, or the indiscriminate diffusion of Holy Scripture, and incessant bandying backwards and forwards of its text? Yet the necessity of these things cannot be denied. To stipulate for the indulgence of one's own tastes in these matters would be like the over-refinement of Hotspur's courtier;

“but for these vile guns,
He would himself have been a soldier.”

Men cannot create their own times and circumstances. They find, on entering the world, certain parties, certain leaders, watchwords, and established modes of operation, which, compared with the few years of one's life, seem as immutable and necessary material as the laws of nature or morality. These may be called the laws of the game. They constitute the practical part of life; all other alternatives being, for the present, theory; and but few in an age have the creative power to give a new shape and direction, new arms and organs, to the religious feelings of a nation. Thus fifty years since it was impossible to revive Catholic views. The attempt was expressly made in the Scholar Armed, with little or no success; indeed, if the seed had been cast ever so widely and ever so wisely, the soil would have been found unprepared. It was teaching the age *invitâ Minervâ*, and an age can no more be made Catholic against its nature, than a man can be educated into a poet. Legitimacy, and some other *political* principles, were *the* religious questions of the day; on which the cause of sacred truth seemed for the time as much staked as it had once been on adherence to the line of David. The Church had therefore to act the part of Jehoiada rather than Samuel. What Sir James Graham said, on the occasion already referred to, in defence of politicians appealing directly to religious predilections, applies equally to the old race of political clergymen.

“It is made a complaint that we mingle religion in our political strife; but our forefathers were particularly studious to blend religion with our political institutions; and their utmost exertions were used to render the state an oblation not unworthy of the Most High . . . and the union of Church and State has been that under which the country has secured all her happiness and acquired all her glory.”

Thus much in the way of apology for that race of political clergymen who lived to see the years 1829 and 1831. Some were, may be, utterly paralyzed; some made a principle of dying to all the world beyond the limits of their parishes, where

they ministered with greater and purer zeal; just as in other times the unsuccessful claimant of a throne retired to a monastery, or a disgraced prelate visited his diocese. But such a crisis is nothing new or strange; it is only the fan of the Winnower perpetually separating the chaff from the wheat,—purifying mixed motives, and testing the solidity and durability of principles. It was then one result of this crisis that the clergy were generally led thereby to the employments and studies of their profession. Driven from the advanced post of their political position, they fell back on the stronghold of Church principles.

There was another distinct feature in this epoch which had probably great effect on the more youthful and vigorous class of minds. The usual objects of what is called honourable ambition suffered degradation. It is recorded in the biographies of many distinguished persons, that their future successes in life were only the fulfilments of their early anticipations; that in fact by talent and perseverance they literally "*made* their fortunes." This is not the place to discuss the allowableness of such a spirit, which certainly runs some risk of being a worship of mammon. But when rank and station were ennobled, and even consecrated, by the sanctity of the whole system, and when every office in the state was in some sense a Divine ministry, it was a more congenial object for the aspirations of a religious mind, than the naked secularity of place under the new *regime*. Surely without invidious inquiry into the personal merits of the parties, and considering them only by the light of their respective systems, we may say it was more natural for the pious mind to emulate Eldon, than Brougham or Lyndhurst.

It cannot be denied also that the estrangement between the Court and the Church, great as it has been for the last two centuries, has lately become still wider. They are now very different atmospheres. A clergyman, or any one of ecclesiastical education, cannot but feel that neither the palace nor the halls of nobility are legitimate objects of ambition; and that he would be out of his element in such spheres. That times are changed in this respect is evidenced by our being unable to estimate the feeling which made a Herbert, or a Laud, such zealous competitors for royal favour. Of the former Walton writes: "This, and the love of a court conversation, mixed with a laudable ambition to be something more than he then was, drew him often from Cambridge, to attend the King wheresoever the court was." We scarcely think he would have fluttered so ambitiously about the precincts of royalty in the present or the two last reigns. We do not mean to say that Herbert's courtiership was anything more than excusable or natural, even supposing the court of James to have been the very

focus of right religious feeling; and it is well for him and for posterity that he did not succeed. The narrative of his disappointment and its result is very happily expressive of the recent turn of things in the English Church.

"In this time of retirement, he had many conflicts with himself, whether he should return to the painted pleasures of a court life, or betake himself to the study of divinity, and enter into sacred orders? (to which his dear mother had often persuaded him.) These were such conflicts as they only can know that have endured them; for ambitious desires, and the outward glory of this world, are not easily laid aside: but at last God inclined him to put on a resolution to serve at his altar."

But Herbert's own words are perhaps still more, as it were, prophetically true of the recent fortunes, and we will add the present resolution, of the Church:

"Whereas my birth and spirit rather took
The way that takes to town;
Thou didst betray me to a lingering book,
And wrap me in a gown.
I was entangled in a world of strife,
Before I had the power to change my life."

The House of Commons has sunk still more than ecclesiastical dignities as an object of honourable ambition. In the last generation it was hardly possible to imagine in that house a single individual of a species now become one of its prominent ingredients. And besides the consideration *quæ genera hominum in senatum pervenerint*, that assembly also suffers much undeserved reproach if its style of deliberation has not greatly lost in order and solemnity by the recent change. Now the youthful mind is especially attracted by what is staid and solemn. Stately processions, kingly pomp, grave debate, ancient ceremonials, forms that now mean nothing, and for that very reason seem the voice of by-gone ages—these are the charms that arrest and stimulate the youthful fancy. It looks for the *Consul Romanus* with his sweeping train of lictors, and for the hoary senate of Rome. It has had enough of rudeness and folly, and longs for quietness, at least for gravity. It feels past life to be but shadows, and yearns after realities. It is therefore surprised and disappointed, on entering the work of life, to find how little seriousness and reality there is in the world: a fact of which mankind is so well aware, that if it be not really grave, it either affects gravity before youth, or finds a dangerous amusement in shocking and puzzling its grave simplicity.

The recent crisis has also greatly advanced a similar change in the *ways* and *means* of earthly exaltation. The avenues of promotion in all departments have been thrown open—not so open

perhaps as before to real merit—but to adventurers. Nobody of course can close his eyes to the monstrous abuse of patronage we have seen for many generations. But that was more private than public. Domestic jobbing, family corruption, is at least more gentlemanly, and perhaps less injurious to the national virtues, than a public competition for the rewards of the state on the terms of a *certain* amount of merit, and as much as possible of political subserviency. Let it be granted that the road to honour and power has been Macadamized, and that the arduous height is now more accessible; still it has from that very cause lost part of its magic attractions, and the class of persons who have taken advantage of these increased facilities has not contributed to its charm. Certainly advancement from whatever cause is now more vulgar than it was some years ago, and not so likely to enthral the affections of the romantic mind. We believe it would be so if it were only that it had less poetic uncertainty about it than heretofore. Youth loves a certain degree of risk—it follows, not sure, but precarious, objects; and turns with distaste from what comes by fixed laws and regular process. So we cannot but think the present arbiters of the fates of this nation would enhance the value of their gifts, if they left them a little more to fortune, and did not make them the infallible reward of certain opinions and compliances. Promotion loses its interest as much as a ghost story, when it is fully accounted for by natural and adequate reasons.

This helps to explain the remarkable fact, for fact it is, that a much less proportion of the youthful and ambitious class of minds takes to the liberal side in politics and religion than ten or twenty years since. *Then*, we believe, the majority in Cambridge, and the cleverest talkers and writers in both Universities, were taking that side, though it seemed to be against their private interests. The Whig system was perhaps more attractive while its fortunes were adverse, and its views confined to theory: still it was hardly to be expected that with an overflowing cornucopia of patronage in their hands, they would after all elicit but few legal, and scarcely any clerical, writers in their favour. Nay, in some cases Whig politicians, anxious to make the best use of their bounties, have not been able, though with diligent search, to discover persons likely to benefit their cause, and have been obliged to waste their bribes on unknown or inefficient characters, or to let them lapse to their own family connections. We cannot call to remembrance at the present moment a single clerical writer who has made his first appearance in the present or the last reign, and whose works would recommend him to the gratitude of the present ministry.

From these considerations we are disposed to think, that not a

few of the rising generation, who would have been embryo judges or dignitaries of the Church, have been led to forecast a purer dignity in their youthful fancies. Nor would it be any disparagement to the fresh awakened zeal of an older class of recruits to the service of the Church, if we suppose it to have dated probably from the day when they found themselves excluded by their high feelings more than by necessity from this world's prizes. Every one must be familiar with cases in which the dissolution of domestic plans and worldly hopes has driven the homeless and comfortless to find a home and comfort in the bosom of the Church. In such cases every one discerns the hand of Providence, and justifies the law of suffering. In like manner, it may be observed, that seasons of public calamity have led to works of the deepest religion and philosophy, and of the most abiding interest. The extinction of Roman liberty gave rise to Cicero's most important moral works; and was also Sallust's pretence, more fair perhaps than true, for betaking himself to the secure and self-rewarding office of historian. It may be observed too that public danger and disaster, and exclusion from the onerous and engrossing cares of office, was the almost constant condition of Greek philosophy throughout its highest and its purest period. To the actual presence of unusual miseries and confusion, and to the apprehension of greater, we owe such works as Vincentius' Rule of Faith, Hooker's Polity, and some of the most valuable of Taylor, Hammond, and Leslie's writings, &c. As ships, when they find themselves drifting, cast their anchors, so the Church, when most borne down by the tempests of the world, seems to search for her deepest grounds and most fixed principles. Precluded from present ease and power, she is no longer tempted to soften her tone and qualify her doctrine; she begins to exercise memory and anticipation; she becomes conscious of her eternal elements, and accordingly she makes her teaching what it should always be,—*κτῆμα ἐς αἰὶ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ παραχρῆμα ἀκούειν*.

It is no denial of the sincerity of men's religious professions to say that much of them will not stand the temptation of riches and honours, but will be found somewhat wanting: nor on the other hand is it fair to doubt the genuineness of that devotion which first arises, or burns purer, from the disappointment of earthly hopes, whether they relate to our private or to the public weal. This would in fact amount to denying the *real* use of disappointment as an instrument for our improvement in the hand of Providence. Every one knows examples of Christians that prove the reality of devotion born in adversity—like the martyred Charles, who sought a heavenly crown the more earnestly, when his earthly one was torn from his brows; or to take an illustration from our

favourite classic, like the Sicilian Acestes, who aimed his shaft at heaven, when his competitors had anticipated him in his first intended mark. Why may we not do the same justice to the new awakened zeal of the Church; showing itself, as it has done, in all parts of the kingdom at once, in many who were of different schools, and *had* seemed to speak different languages—a universal and undesigned coincidence.

Such a book as Mr. Osler's is a very strong index of the present direction of the English mind. Twenty years ago Mr. Osler, even if he had been a Churchman, would not have piled together all his varied stores of mind and memory, mixed them with sacred truths, and then with careful piety made them a free-will offering to the Church. He would, we think, have made a point of giving them an original and independent *form*: he would have made them support a new plan or theory, and called it perhaps a new view of political economy: perhaps instead of writing as a humble son of the Church, he would have enacted the self-righteous *censor morum*; and in place of edification and *construction*, he would, may be, have preferred the *destructive* line, thinking it a great gain to show that all was wrong, with only a few vague intimations of his grand corrective principle. His work shows the strength and richness of the English mind, just as some wild plants indicate that the soil will repay the labour of the agriculturalist *optima frumentis*. As far as its matter is concerned, it has an original, an indigenous character: it is not an essay on a given subject: it is not a mass of information collected to support a theory, or to defend a side: it is not the offspring of a school, a child of party. On the contrary, it seems the work of a man not accustomed to compose, and to recommend his materials to the best advantage. It seems the outpouring of an observant and fertile mind; and reminds us, as well in its defects as in its merits, of the conversations of a benevolent sexagenarian, who had seen a good deal of mankind, not otiosely and superciliously, like a young gentleman travelling through Italy, but with his hands full of work, and his perception cleared by religion's single eye. It is very heterogeneous in its contents; we know not whether to say the fault or the virtue of most really original works. It is quite a text book on the subject of Dissent, in which point it has the merit of being the author's own experience as well as his observation.

"I have been enabled," he says, p. 3, "to observe it closely for the last thirty years: I was brought up a dissenter; educated under the roof of a dissenting minister; and have had those means of knowing the personal and domestic character and habits of individuals, in all ranks and of all opinions, which only a medical practitioner can obtain."

The book contains also many valuable notices and just views of what we are tempted to call the unecclesiastical period of the history of the Church of England, viz. that since the Revolution. These subjects are treated chiefly in their bearing on the most important, if only because the most numerous, part of the Church—the poor and unlearned. Then we have a good deal of the author's experience on the temporal condition and habits of the poor, whether manufacturing or agricultural. These essays, it appears, had been published separately with the title "Church and Dissent, considered in their practical influence;" but the Bath Conservative Association, greatly to its credit, adopted the work, and procured its republication in a still more popular and accessible form. The author, as we have above intimated, sanctifies his gift by introducing *pari passu* in every monthly number (for the book was published in that form) a harmony of the service for each Sunday and holyday in the ensuing month, with practical remarks thereon. We think that Mr. Osler, in his laudable anxiety to bring out the Church services, has sometimes rather overshot his mark, as far as system is concerned: thus we think the bearing of the Lessons on the Epistle and Gospel is often accidental when he seems to consider it designed, though it is not less valuable and practical on that account. Again, we question the very methodical arrangement he assigns to the Sundays after Trinity. The whole, miscellaneous as it is, *nullo minus cultu*, may be considered a very strong testimony to the Church, given under circumstances likely to mar it. Though the author has been a dissenter, he does not show the bitterness against his old friends so common to persons in his dangerous position: he "confines his animadversions to the system of dissent, carefully avoiding all party acrimony, and whatever may give pain to individuals." He writes as though he felt he had added to his faith, not subtracted from it, and as though he suffered accordingly no "laceration of mind"—nay, he errs on the side of laxity. In his interesting account of Wesleyanism (p. 37), he seems to think that society is, to a certain extent, compatible with the Church. He speaks of it in one place, as being somewhat in the position of the Scotch Episcopal Church; which of course means no more than that they are both examples, and very encouraging examples, of religious communities flourishing without the countenance of the State. He does not bring out with his usual boldness and perspicuity, the inconsistencies of the founder of that body, and consequently of the body itself: and he considers them of a submissive and obedient spirit, being apparently won over by their having so strongly repudiated *political* radicalism. They may be said, by this time, to have discontinued

their somewhat faint and hollow protest against being considered a Church. They act as a Church in all respects, excepting only that they still seem shy, more from habit or prudence than from delicacy, of assuming our ecclesiastical nomenclature. In this respect Wesley presents a striking parallel to Luther. *He* at first viewed his system as temporary and supplementary, the Church being in partial abeyance or defection: *he* at first repudiated the notion of founding a Church, and therefore called his agents pastors, not presbyters. In both cases the founders themselves set an example of inconsistency which was enlarged on by their successors, who looked to the exceptions rather than the rules of their masters. In both cases, the platforms once erected seemed to acquire every day fresh reasons for being continued. Mr. Powell's book on Apostolical succession, both in its temper and its doctrine, furnishes a sufficient refutation of Mr. Osler's too favourable estimate of this body; as no one can read that book without coming to the conclusion, that Wesleyanism is a denial of the Church, and either one or the other is in grievous error. We must also protest against the following passage, containing a principle by no means "conservative" of the Church's feelings and doctrines, or of the Church itself:

"We disclaim all hostility to dissenters, and are glad to unite with them wherever we can properly do so: nor is the sphere small within which this friendly union and intercourse are safe. Society with all its courtesies; private and public business; political, literary, and charitable institutions, offer a wide field within which we may forget all differences. But in whatever concerns religious instruction, whether it apply to public worship, or to the education of the young, we cannot unite with them without compromising principles we are bound to maintain, sacrificing powers it is our duty to employ, and betraying the cause we are required to defend."—p. 9.

We beg to remind Mr. Osler that it is not desirable that we should forget the differences referred to in any place or time. He appears indeed to make the exception in order to give greater force to the general rule contained in the latter part of the passage; and he has many illustrious examples to keep him in countenance. But we refer him to an article on the British Association, in our last number, for a specimen of the way in which "religious differences" are "forgotten" in "literary societies," and the fatal injuries done to the cause of sacred truth thereby.

Mr. Osler is also tempted to identify the cause of the Church with conservatism; as he enters the subject with the very natural and very pious belief that the existing partizans of the Church best understand her. But this does not on the whole prevent him from doing justice to the Church in her independent capacity. He is

able to see her as she is, and is not obliged to know her only under the mask of an establishment, or as reflected in the unfaithful mirror of a political party. The chief result of Mr. Osler's conservative attachments is, that he certainly describes the party more as it ought to be, more as it is partially, than as it is generally, and as a whole. He makes it a sacred cause, which it rather shrinks from being. He believes it to be only a more active form of Toryism. The following extracts are, we think, more expressive of the views of *some* conservatives, than of the *mass*, or of the *leaders* of the party :

"The title, 'Church and King,' is not chosen as a party watch-word, but because it embodies our most important public duties. God has appointed both, to govern under Him, and with His authority, the Church in spiritual, the King in temporal affairs ; and we ought, cheerfully for his sake, and gratefully for our own, to receive each with obedience, reverence, and love."—p. 2.

"The system of the Church is unity, which, by its catholic principle, may extend to the whole world : that of Dissent is division, which sets up a number of distinct, rival, and perhaps hostile 'churches,' in a single town. Both cannot possibly be of Divine appointment.

"It is certain from Scripture, that God has appointed a perpetual Church ; nor can we doubt, that whatever He appoints must have some fixed principle. God is not the author of confusion, nor can He contradict Himself. Every man, therefore, having duly satisfied his judgment and his conscience upon this point, ought to take a decided stand upon his own ground ; not as a question of expediency, but for conscience sake. No compromise can be safe between a Divine appointment and a human invention. The principle which sanctions error is not charity, but weakness. Truth, and error ; right, and wrong ; duty, and rebellion ; admit of no alliance."—p. 4.

"We are fortunate in having an example how Christians may lawfully separate from an established Church ; and how they ought to behave in their separation. The Episcopalians of Scotland thus separate, because they deem themselves bound to remain in a communion governed by the Apostolic order of bishops, which the national establishment has lost, or rejected. Their principle rests upon the plain duty of obeying, at all events, that spiritual authority which God has appointed from the foundation of His Church, whether it be recognized, or neglected ; established, or persecuted, by the civil power. But they acquiesce without murmuring in the poverty and obscurity to which their non-conformity exposes them ; and they make no attempts to disturb the existing arrangements of the country. They separate, not because Presbyterianism is established by the State, but because Episcopacy has been ordained by God ; and since obedience for conscience sake, under whatever trials or discouragement, has been their ruling principle, we cannot wonder, however we may admire, at the noble example they display of uncomplaining meekness and devoted loyalty. They who are true to God will always be loyal to their king. Far otherwise they who

deeming all orthodox sects indifferent, and of equal authority in themselves, yet contend, that if the State sanction any one of them, that one ought therefore to be resisted. Thus they canonize rebellion ; and truly they honour their patron saint.”—p. 6.

This last passage affords us an opportunity of noticing the unholy dalliance, or shall we call it the illicit intercourse, going on between our Conservative leaders and the Scotch Kirk. Two of them, Sir Robert Peel and Sir James Graham, have lately received the honorary titles of Lord Rectors of Glasgow University. We could wish the reciprocity to which they pledged themselves on those occasions had been equally unsubstantial. Besides certain distinct references to the solid realities of life which are no where better appreciated than in the General Assembly, the once chosen of Oxford declared that in his opinion there was no difference between the Church and the Kirk, except in forms ; of which formal differences he proceeded to shew his slight estimation by taking the oaths and joining in the prayers of his Presbyterian Alma Mater. The addresses of these statesmen have been repaid in kind by a series of lectures delivered in London by the chief orator of the Kirk, which a numerous and motley crowd of establishment-men thronged to hear ; some of whom having derived their notion of a Scotch preacher from the Covenanters in Old Mortality, thought it a wonderful liberality in one of that class to advocate an endowed clergy. The doctor quietly proposes that we should give up all that is “transcendental” or mysterious in our faith, i. e. all that is not within the compass of Scotch metaphysics ; and he offers to us instead thereof an alleged new discovery of his own, never before known in Scotland, and therefore of course no where else ; viz. a “magnificent” scheme of pastoral superintendence. This, however, on explanation, turns out to be not quite so universal and searching, not quite of so religious a character, as what has been practised from time immemorial in at least half the rural parishes of England, and to a great extent in towns also, without any notion on our part that it was something new and peculiar. Having thus advised and enlightened us, the canny diplomatist proposes an *ἐπιμαχία* between the two establishments. But while he is lecturing the placeless Conservatives he is not neglecting his opportunity of cultivating their more potential rivals. *Utrinque paratus*, he brings his lectures in one pocket, and in the other certain memorials for endowments of Churches and Schools, and some “wee bit matters” besides, of which hereafter, addressed, not to fair ladies and intelligent gentlemen, but to her Majesty’s ministers. It is amusing to notice that his countrymen of the secession Church, &c. while they do not appear to have sent any

antagonist orator to confront the *brutum fulmen* of his rhetoric, did nevertheless send as many as four deputations to dispute his attack on the treasury. Inexpensive as are chaplets of parsley, rectorial robes, bedels and maces, and long speeches, it is clear that the Scotch do not intend to give even them for nothing.

The Church of England is identical in spiritual things with that Church which in Scotland is forced, for distinction sake, to call itself Episcopal: while on the other hand, the temporal realm of England is for the present bound to maintain the rival communion founded by John Knox. Our Conservative leaders are blind to the spiritual identity, and cling to, nay, of their own accord strengthen, the political tie. Let it be granted that our statesmen are bound by the terms of a union contracted in evil days to *maintain* the establishment of the Kirk in its temporal possessions and privileges. They are not bound to be forward admirers and zealous partisans of an alien and rebellious communion. Toleration does not involve patronage. Whatever political obligation they find themselves under, their present course is perfectly uncalled for. The origin of that communion in fire and sword; its systematic persecution of the true church for these three hundred years, in all its states, whether enjoying a fleeting glimpse of state protection, or on the seeming eve of extinction; and its irreconcilable difference from us in all spiritual things; are a warning of the impossibility as well as the sin of making a common cause. But, say our statesmen, the Kirk is established, let us help one another in defence of establishments, "our Protestant establishments," as Sir R. Peel called them at the last "Peel banquet," "the sister churches of England and Scotland," as Lord Stanley styled them on the same occasion. We tell them it is only tying the living to the dead. The new Conservative foundation, like a house built half on a rock and half on a quicksand, will soon cleave asunder, one part spoilt, the other destroyed. The Church founded on Knox and Melville is even now verging to its fall. It is the sense of its weakness, not any modification in its principles, that makes it now at length court an alliance with the prelacy which it abhors as much as Popery. Would it ever in its hour of pride have constituted an archbishop its advocate in parliament? It is foundering in the storm which all things human are now feeling, and would fain approach and lash its worm-eaten and gaping timbers to our firm sides. Why should we, to whom it has all along been an unmitigated evil, now step in and with a most misdirected chivalry share its odium and its dangers? The Kirk has every prospect of a long, and we think an unsuccessful, struggle with its domestic foes, with whom we are in no wise concerned. The only spell

that has kept it together so long has been opposition to Catholic principles ; and that spell has now lost its charms from mere age, and from the liberality of the times ; for the bigotry of opposition wears out at last, as well as the bigotry of adherence. We have universal proofs of the little hold that Presbyterianism has on the affections in the flagrant fact of all Scotchmen conforming to the Church as a matter of course whenever they find themselves in her bosom. A few years ago we were informed as an argument why Churchmen should contribute towards the erection of a new Scotch Kirk in London, that there were in that city more than 100,000 Scotch, with existing accommodation for less than 2000. Another remarkable fact came out lately in the House of Lords on an occasion to which we shall soon refer. It appears there are in that house only *two* members of the Kirk, Lords Minto and Aberdeen ; and the former of these was not aware that the latter was a member of his own communion, till informed thereof by his speech in parliament.

If the Conservatives think they can with the bribe of a few churches, endowments, annuity taxes, &c. persuade the Church and the Kirk to live together as brethren let them look to the Canadas. A liberal journal quoted in the Morning Chronicle, observes :—

“ At home those once implacable enemies the Presbyterian and Episcopalian Churches, are now united for mutual protection, and are the best of friends ; but when Lord Durham, in his reply to an address from the ministers of the Church of England in Canada, seemed to recognize them as the Established Church, the Presbyterians protested against his language as injurious to themselves, and as impugning the right of equality. No doubt these men would be, if occasion required it, as prompt to appeal to the claymore as their Scottish brethren.”

Our history is already too fertile in examples of the hollowness of political combinations wherein neither principle nor feeling is concerned. The brief alliance of all English Protestants with the Scotch Kirk under the terror of James's Popish encroachments brought about that revolution, or at least gave that turn to it, which, besides our share in its baneful consequences, inflicted on our true northern sister (ἐκλεκτῇ κυρίᾳ καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῆς) a persecution which for length and cruelty had no parallel in history. Sir R. Peel has added another example which is perhaps still more pregnant with calamity. His alliance with Popery against the spirit of revolution, has only given strength to both our foes, without anywise abating their fury ; and they whom he thought to divide are now better friends than ever. We anticipate the same disastrous results from his alliance with the Kirk.

It is not to any newly awakened feeling of sisterhood that we

are indebted for these cold smiles and unwinning advances from the north—but to consciousness of peril; and also, it must be added, to the hope of gain. The Kirk rejoices in the maxim that “a poor Church is a pure Church,” and of course is in the right to make the best of its case. But its poverty is the result of necessity not choice. Its founders were obliged to purchase victory with a greater sacrifice of *materiel*, the *impedimenta ecclesiæ*, than were the Reformers of the English Church. Scotland was at the time virtually under an oligarchy, therefore instead of one despot there was a whole hydra of hungry tyrants to be propitiated. The Kirk has in consequence always felt that in money matters it made a very indifferent bargain, and that the world is still in its debt. This circumstance has created a certain craving sense of unsatisfied claims, of “a scrape of an auld accmpt due to the Kirk’s yestate,” which has now by force of long habit become a characteristic of the nation. We think the present exhibition of this feeling is as unreasonable as it is undignified. The Kirk secured in the scramble, what the Church of England did not, its independence; and to use the common proverb, it must pay for its whistle. Wealth is power, and if the power of the Kirk were much increased it would soon be found to embarrass the state, and, consequently, would have to descend from its airy height as an independent corporation. Nothing can be more inconsistent than for the General Assembly to glory over our thralldom, and to be at this very moment resisting the rights of patronage, thus disclaiming both royal and aristocratical interference; while it is at the same time pressing its claims for national assistance. It wishes for the advantages, without the evils, of an establishment.

The present, it is true, is an hour of distress and danger; but it is also, on that very account, an hour of new partnerships, of compromises, and bribes. The Kirk is reduced to court protection; but it is at the same time conscious of being courted in turn, and so it feels itself in a condition to make terms. Its leaders therefore, coincident with their tenders of political aid to their brother Conservatives in the south, are plying with ceaseless and ubiquitous importunity certain claims for sympathy in a solid and tangible form. Thus the Earl of Aberdeen applying for grants towards building Churches, and also for the remainder of the plunder of the ancient Church of Scotland, some of which it appears is still in the possession of the crown, says,

“As a humble advocate of the Church of Scotland he was confident he might safely appeal on this occasion to the right reverend bench. The Church of Scotland was grateful to the right reverend prelates of England for the support she had already received from them. All feel-

ings of hostility, if ever they existed, between the two Churches, had long since entirely passed away, and it was wisdom for both to look to each other for support against their enemies, who were striving equally to injure and destroy them both."

Lord Melbourne, in his reply, shrewdly notices this infirmity of the Scottish mind. "And here he must observe, there seemed to be exhibited a wonderful tenacity of bishops' teinds, and an extraordinary desire to have recourse to the public purse." And certainly whether from unlucky accident, or from a peculiar view of the *mollia tempora fandi*, they do seem apt to introduce some little pecuniary episode into the most tragic catastrophes of our country's drama. We cannot help our ominous reminiscences; but we fear that if Sir Robert Peel and his friends compromise themselves with the General Assembly, that shrewd and calculating legislature will be as ready to pronounce them "not of the godly," and forthwith surrender them into the hands of their southern foes for an adequate consideration, as it was once in the case of a nobler refugee. The "bishops' teinds," &c. forcibly recal to our memory the "wee bit sifflication of his ain," which Richie Moniplies "just slipt into the king's hand along with his lord's—just to save his majesty trouble—and that he might consider them baith at ance." Dr. Chalmers has not come "aw the way frae Scotland" from pure love to our Establishment, or for establishments in general. If we mistake not, he and his coadjutors in parliament have undertaken our cause just now to "red the gate for their ain little bill," and perhaps it will be found by and bye that, in the "dirrum and confusion," they have "crammed them baith" on government "cheek by jowl, and may be their ain boonmost." For our own part, if these tithes of the old Scottish bishops are to be given up to the Kirk, we would rather let Lord Melbourne monopolize all the honour and profit of the transaction. Queen Anne gave back a similar property to the party from whom it had been plundered.

Our enemies are quick-sighted enough to see the religious inconsistencies in which we involve ourselves by supporting the Kirk. They ask why, allowing that as Protestants we cannot do justice to Romanists, we will not give up a portion of the religious provision of Ireland to the Presbyterians *there*, who nearly equal the Church. We will however mention another inconsistency, which may, for any thing we know, assume a stronger character before the present generation has passed away. The Methodist Connexion is almost the exact counterpart of the Scotch Kirk, having as much pretence to Divine right, and being now nearly equal in numbers; nay, we believe it has now about the same proportion to all England, as the Kirk had to Scotland,

when it first secured its present position. The only differences are in favour of the Connexion; viz. that it was founded peaceably, and that it agrees with us in doctrines as far as it goes; as for the immaterial circumstance that the one body has the temporalities, and the other has not, we can only say,

“ ————— careat successibus, opto,
Quisquis ab eventu facta notanda putat.”

Now we ask if our Church of England statesmen more than tolerate the Kirk, are they not involving themselves in the possible necessity of more than tolerating the Connexion?

But we have digressed; or rather we have in part anticipated what we have to remark on the line taken by political conservatism: for this unnatural union of Church and Kirk can only be regarded as a political device, and we are glad to see a professed conservative implying that he repudiates it.

We will return to Mr. Osler's book. The following passages on Church and Dissent are highly creditable to the author as a layman, and also to the Conservative Association of Bath, which, by the bye, from the reports of its meetings, seems certainly in some important respects an exception to the general character of these bodies.

“ The Church appeals in support of her pretensions to the direct authority of the New Testament, and the analogy of the Old;—to the writings of the Fathers;—to the invariable practice of every Christian Church throughout the first fifteen centuries; and to the recorded declaration of the earliest Presbyterian teachers, who pleaded only the necessity created by the circumstances in which they were placed to excuse themselves for deviating from Episcopacy.”—p. 10.

“ It will at once be admitted that the Church is comprehensive; for she is reproached by her enemies with including all characters. So was it said of our Lord, ‘ this man receiveth sinners:’ and the Church that faithfully represents him, being commissioned to preach the Gospel to every creature, must not confine her attention to a select party. She must receive all as committed to her charge; and seek, and strive to reclaim, every wanderer from the fold. The members of the Church of England are all who have been made members of Christ in baptism, who, from the time when they personally ratify their vows in confirmation, are admitted, as of right, to every Christian privilege.”—p. 17.

“ The fallen and corrupt state of man, a truth which is the foundation of all religion, is fatal to the principle of voluntary churches. The object of a Christian church is to maintain, and to present continually to the people, ‘ whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear,’ a standard of truth and purity immeasurably above their own. But here we have the blind, corrupt, and self-deceiving multitude choosing their own ways, appointing their own guides, fixing their own standard, and requiring that the devices and desires of their own hearts shall in all

things be followed; claiming in fact to govern their rulers, direct their guides, and instruct their teachers. It will be said they take the Bible for their guide! So, professedly, did all the heretics, who, in every age of Christianity, have wrested the Scriptures to their own destruction. So did the two hundred dissenting congregations, who in our own country have lapsed to Socinianism. So do the Socinians of our own day.” —pp. 20, 21.

“An authoritative Church alone can afford security for the truth; nor is this putting the Church in God’s stead, because to that end He has appointed it. It is like a straight and level road, fenced on either side with a creed and a liturgy, along which the feeble may travel with comfort, and the ignorant with safety; while the system of voluntary sects is like an open, boundless common, full of bogs and pitfalls, and crossed with a thousand paths.”—p. 21.

We commend these observations to the notice of a numerous class of Conservatives, who seem to think it a great triumph if they are allowed the Scriptures in a national scheme of education, though the Church be excluded; who think it enough to retain the Book of the Law, though they dismiss the Levite from their gates. We do not mean to admit that there are any persons more zealous for the Bible, than they who are also zealous for the Church: on the contrary we believe it will be found that none introduce so many glosses, and peculiar *media* of instruction, and traditions of men, as they who affect to take their stand on the Bible, the whole Bible, and nothing but the Bible. If anybody is in search of hymns, religious story books, tracts for the unlearned, &c., where does he go? To those schools and societies which *profess* the Bible only, conducted either by Dissenters, or by that sort of gentry which plays fast and loose with the Church. It is not human commentaries, but “an authoritative Church,” the *severæ matris arbitrium*, that “Bible Christians” rebel against. Lord Brougham and our other education-mongers are ready enough to concede to us what is in their eyes the dead letter of the Bible, and what they think a ductile manageable thing, if they can thereby purchase the exclusion of the living Church, which they know full well not to be entirely manageable: and Conservatives seem but too willing to be betrayed by the stratagem. But we will pass on to some specimens of Mr. Osler’s historical reflections.

“Most of the reformed Churches had established themselves only after a deadly struggle with Popery, which had greatly blended party hostility with their purer motives. Anxiety to avoid what they detested hurried them to extremes; and instead of contenting themselves with rejecting the corrupt inventions which Popery had added to the truth, they rejected with the corruption the truth itself. The Apostolic order of bishops was considered as a part of popish tyranny and pride. The

decencies of public worship so happily preserved in the Church of England; her Liturgy so scriptural, and transmitted from the purest ages of Christianity; and the orders of her ministry, which had existed for centuries before the corruptions of Rome were known, all were condemned as relics of Popery."—p. 34.

"The Church was deeply tainted with these dreadful principles; and Archbishop Abbot sealed her fate, and that of the monarchy, by promoting them with all his influence * * * *. In the fearful crisis which took place, we shall see God's goodness and care over the Church. Had the great struggle occurred some years sooner, the Puritans might have been put down for the time; but it would have been only to renew the contest with every advantage of character, for they would have claimed the honours of martyrdom, while the Church would have been branded as a persecutor. On the other hand, if the question had been delayed, the Church must have gradually sunk, for already were many of her friends desirous to obtain peace and union, even by modifications in Episcopacy, which must have ended in the extinction of the order. But happily, Archbishop Laud, by attempting to check the evil, brought the question to a crisis; too late to save the Church from temporary subversion, yet in time to enable her to enter the conflict with her principles not yet compromised, and her character unimpaired."—p. 35.

We could not have a better admonition of the Church's duty at the present crisis, which is in some sort a revival of both the eras of which Mr. Osler is speaking. A very numerous party is now actually professing "to carry out the principles of the Reformation," which they allege were interrupted, and curtailed of their full development, by the *antiquæ vestigia fraudis* remaining in the religious views of Queen Elizabeth, and still more in those of the Stuarts. Accordingly they are now, as they suppose, resuming the unfinished Reformation. Again the same party identifies itself with the Puritans, revives their theology, and to some extent their ecclesiastical system. It is therefore endeavouring to force on the Church principles, which, as they admit themselves, nay as they loudly proclaim, she has twice deliberately and strenuously rejected. Thus out of their own mouth do they judge themselves to be at variance with the actual system of the Anglican Church, and not to be her true sons. No one can pretend to divine what will be the success of this third attack on our Church, this *κακῶν τριφυλία*, but experience warns us to avoid the *principle* of concession, *i. e.* of surrendering truth for peace or any other temporal boon. History informs us that Laud, though "fools counted his life madness, and his end to be without honour," was yet a better Conservative in the long run, than his worldly-wise predecessor: in fact he recovered all, and more than all, Abbot had lost. The Church had its choice then, as it has now, and because it did not ask for itself "long life,"

neither asked "riches" for itself, nor "the life of its enemies," but asked for itself "understanding to discern judgment," therefore that Catholic Truth which it asked above all things was providentially restored, and together with it those things which it had not asked, "both riches and honour."

The following is a happy description of that loyalty, which sees our superiors, not as they are in themselves, nor as men have made them, but as in Christ. George III. has enabled us, by a kind of *ἐνάργεια* of kingly goodness, to realize that the reigning line of sovereigns is not *to us* the choice of men, but the gift of God; so that we can not only obey them for conscience sake, but be affectionately loyal.

"That must be allowed to be the more sublime idea, which not only invests the sovereign with every thing that is most glorious and exalted of earthly majesty and power, but sees also in him God's appointed representative on earth, by whom He chiefly executes his purposes towards the nation. We therefore honour and obey him as our ruler, and love him as our protector and father: and if we are so happy as to be blest with a king, like our good George III., who not only represents the divine authority in his office, but displays also God's moral image in his piety, we have the most exalted idea of greatness that the world can afford."—p. 66.

A few more passages on various topics illustrating the sobriety, the reverential tone, and the good sense which pervades the work, and we have done.

"It will not be disputed that the influence of ecclesiastical buildings on the public mind is very considerable. No palace may compare with the simple grandeur of a cathedral; and the most humble parish church makes the surrounding peasantry familiar with an object far superior to any other with which they are acquainted. But considerations of taste arising from its superiority as a work of art form the least part of its influence; the charm is, the crowd of moral associations. The villagers have a feeling of property in their own parish church; nor could any greater outrage be offered to their feelings than any attempt to desecrate or deface it. Venerable from extreme antiquity, and firm as the hills around it, it stands, as a part of their native land, and to endure with the country to all ages."—p. 71.

"In the Church there is every thing to create humility, and to quicken emulation. Her principles of government, and the strictness with which she confines her ministrations to the proper officers, check the intruder who would presume to lay unhalloved hands upon the Ark. The strength of her foundations, which enables her to disregard the feeble enmity of opponents, forbids any friend to feel himself of importance."—p. 71.

"The (voluntary) system is peculiarly destructive to the character of young females; and how much the best interests of society depend upon the female character it is unnecessary to show. Unhappily they are

made the chief agents in the every-day work of the cause. Men are occupied with business; matrons with domestic concerns; but young women have leisure; and, from their inexperience, and their natural warmth of feeling, excited by what may be called sensual devotion, they are easily 'led captive.' To work for the bazaar, to distribute the tracts, to collect the weekly pence from door to door, for the mission, for the Bible Association, for the Meeting-house debt, and I have even known them employed, incredible as it may appear, to collect the pew-rents! these tasks devolve upon them, to be executed under the direction of men, whoever they may happen to be, who take a lead in the Meeting. The needful excitement is kept up by frequent evening meetings, sometimes protracted to a very late hour by a second more private service, which begins after the regular evening service is over. Calls upon fellow-labourers to discuss present business and future plans, amuse leisure intervals. In this life of dissipation, which possesses the evils of fashionable dissipation without its refinement, domestic duties are neglected, and domestic feelings destroyed. Home is merely the place where they live and sleep; their pleasures are sought abroad. In excuse for thus employing young females, it is said, that they make the best beggars! How must all that is lovely in their character be wrecked, before this can be true!"—pp. 75, 76.

"We neglected the duty of establishing the Church in our old North American colonies, and, as a direct consequence and punishment, we lost them. The immediate cause of hostilities would never have created a difference, had there not previously existed a strong principle of discord. Mr. Wesley declares, from personal observation, that very many years before the revolt of those colonies there was a disposition to throw off their dependance upon England, founded, not upon any alleged grievance, but upon the feeling of repulsion which necessarily exists against monarchy, wherever the system of Independency in religion prevails. Severe trials are evidently in reserve for that country. The rival interests of the different states, the fearful slave question, and the inadequacy of the supreme authority to control such a population, almost forbid the hope that it will be quietly adjusted: but it may be predicted with confidence, that whenever the day of trial for America shall come, the Episcopal Church, limited as it yet is, will be found the ark of her safety."—p. 103.

"If a corrupt government, abusing its influence, should force into her high places men, who would teach dangerous errors, she will know how to maintain the truth, and pour shame upon her enemies, without forgetting the duty of Christians and subjects. Of this Oxford has lately given a noble example."—p. 118.

On the whole we think Mr. Osler and the gentlemen who have adopted his book present a very favourable specimen of Conservatism. He has not excluded Churchmanship from his political creed. He has a very clear view of the prevailing temper of our Church, as contrasted with the forward, impatient, rebellious spirit of the Puritans and the continental reformers gene-

rally, and specially of the Huguenots; and he proves that, even judging by temporal success, the balance is in our favour; he is not however shaken in his principles by successful rebellion and innovation. (p. 100.) We cannot help noticing also his vindication of the poor from the unchristian calumnies now in fashion against them. (p. 165.) He speaks of the many generous qualities of that class from intimate acquaintance, and he feels for their wants as a brother in Christ. He regards them neither with the mawkish sensibility of the philanthropist, nor the unjust justice, that *summum jus, summa injuria*, of the political economist; but kindly and respectfully as Christ's poor. He takes throughout a Churchman's view of things. "The Church is now the battle ground," he says, "nor could we desire a better." (p. 57.) His views are the clearest when he is speaking generally, and trying to exhibit the true nature of the Church in her various operations and different phases, yet separable from them, *aliusque et idem semper*; e. g. in his historical sketches. His weakness lies in the direction of Conservatism, and is specially betrayed when he is defending the doings of that party; when, for example, he says that Sir R. Peel placed the interests of the Church in the hands of a proper commission. (p. 54.) Such admissions are serious, as an argument, like a beam, is only as strong as its weakest part. So much for Mr. Osler's free contribution to the Church, of which it only now remains to suggest, that, if it goes to another edition, it would be as well to add an index to its multifarious and somewhat undigested contents.

But taking our leave of the author with our best wishes, we pass on to a less agreeable subject, in which however we have partly anticipated ourselves, as far as concerns the contemplated alliance of Conservatism with the Kirk. We will proceed to consider the way in which the men of the day, the secular politicians, have met the present state of affairs. Now allowing, as we are bound to do, that there is much sincerity and purity of motive in the remedies which this class has devised for the times, still we think they confirm our defence of the new direction which the Church has taken, more by their *contrast* than their *affinity*. They illustrate that there is a *wrong* way, and therefore prove that there is a *right* way, of taking the times. There certainly has come to pass a great separation both in men and things; such a separation as not a few in the age gone by would have much desired, and would now have welcomed, if it were not the result of disasters too serious not to be lamented, whatever good results may incidentally arise from them. The conservative bond of union at present affects individuals very slightly; it does not gall like the old chain of Toryism: as it does not imply a distinct profession

of Churchmanship, so it happily leaves good Churchmen more at liberty than they were in the last generation. We are not now obliged to be hail-fellow-well-met with every so-called Tory, or run the risk of bringing doubt on our attachment to a Church, who, if she could speak, would renounce the man thus thrust into our ranks. Nothing can be plainer, nothing sooner acknowledged by all parties, than that the political combination, which has stepped into the place of the friends of legitimacy, is not like them identical with the friends of the Church. There has been a new formation on the old granite; unless Conservatism be better described as a kind of *alluvies* deposited by the late torrent of change. *Ætas parentum pejor avis tulit Nos nequiores*; which is true of every thing merely human. Toryism has run its course and Conservatism has come in its place; neither, as we think, so noble, nor so likely to be long lived, as its predecessor, though produced out of its ashes.

We do not deny the merits of Conservatism as a *temporary* position. Sudden perils can scarcely be brought under general rules of either prudence or morals. No one thinks a drowning man *unwise* because he catches at a straw; or regardless of other men's rights and lives because he grasps a plank which will only just sustain its present possessor. In the Gallic war it is said every now and then that Cæsar, when suddenly attacked and hard pressed, *copias suas in proximum collem subducit*; whence however he sallies forth the next morning or the next half hour. Such was Conservatism; a good position for the moment; the misfortune of which is that its leaders have tried to magnify it into the Torres Vedras of our constitution. They have tried to make that permanent which had in it no one principle of permanency. It was not that they had not their choice, but they did not see their best and longest security. When the last generation of the Tories were in their day the lords of the earth, they demeaned themselves undutifully towards the Church; they gave to it and took away, they set up and pulled down, as suited their temporal exigencies. What they did in the hour of pride became afterwards their calamity. The Church once despised could not afterwards help them, when they pleased, to re-establish their ascendancy. "Because I have called, and ye refused; I have stretched out my hand and no man regarded; but ye have set at nought all my counsel, and would none of my reproof; I also will laugh at your calamity; I will mock when your fear cometh," Their alternative therefore was no longer between victory and defeat; for they were doomed to be humbled at least for this generation; but between a lingering struggle for power as unsuccessful as it is unscrupulous on the one hand; and on the other, to cleave to

an insulted and outcast Church, and share her troubles in the hope of her crown of glory.

As a mere impromptu, an extemporaneous *act* of policy, Conservatism was defensible. It was in its origin a mere *αὐτοσχέδιασμα*, and should never have been thought anything more : like a temporary bridge of rafters, which every one might admire as the work of the moment, but which has neither dignity nor durability enough to leave to future ages. For what was it but a mere appeal to our instinct for preservation, a useful instinct and universal ; but not necessarily rational. It presented no fixed plan or object ; it afforded no unity of purpose wherewith to bind together diverse minds. It appealed only to instinct. Like the cry, "Take care of your pockets, gentlemen," in the lobby of a theatre ; when every one immediately forgets all social affections, all the proprieties and courtesies of life, and is for the moment absorbed in the love of personal property. *Sauve qui peut* means save yourselves, *i. e.* your lives, without thinking of victory or an orderly retreat : the Conservative cry was save your lives, and any thing else you can carry away with you. All know how reckless and indiscriminate people are apt to be in such emergencies. There are sad stories of poor creatures running through the flames at the risk of their lives, and bringing down with short-lived triumph the pillow instead of the child that was sleeping on it, or an old comb instead of the precious packet that contained a life's earnings. Æneas gained an eternal name for piety by rescuing on his shoulders his father and his gods ; and Conservatism, to do it justice, shows some filial reverence for the ancient institutions of the country, and for religion in the abstract. So far the parallel is creditable to both parties. But Æneas, or his poet, must always lie under suspicion of having deserted his lawful spouse both to expedite his flight, and to leave himself at liberty for his Carthaginian and his Latin mistress : Conservatism also, it must be confessed, seems too ready to forsake the Church as a helpless and inconvenient incumbrance, and to supply her place with new unions of pleasure or policy, the Didos* and Lavinias of religion.

We have said that Conservatism appeals to a mere instinct, and that an almost irrational one, the instinct of preservation. Some will answer perhaps that this instinct is useful, and therefore rational, besides that it is capable of a rational exercise and development like any other instinct ; that the love of one's country is but an instinct to begin with, though it may by the aid of reason be matured into one of the highest human virtues. But that is our very meaning. Conservatism does seem to appeal to a *mere*

* Dido, by the bye, as chronologists inform us ; was a near kinswoman of Jezebel.

instinct, with so little subordination to other principles of greater importance, and so little guided by reason or even common sense, that it cannot be called a virtue. If it be a virtue, on what *principle* does it proceed? What rule of *selection* does it act upon? The *instinct* of friendship loves all kind of people, good or bad, Christian or infidel, so as they make some kind of return; it operates in all sorts of ways, good and bad; it helps to reform one friend, to corrupt another; it loves the father to the cost of the son, or the son to the cost of the father; all not according to principle, but to circumstances and caprice. Whereas the *virtue* of friendship loves only *certain* persons, and that in *certain* ways. Now Conservatism exhibits no definite rule of selection, or deliberate choice, either in the things it proposes to preserve or in the ways by which it goes about its work. Thus, what does it wish to preserve? Does it wish to perpetuate all things just as they are now? Is it so entirely satisfied with the present state of things, compared with what is likely to come, as to wish the current of human affairs to be frozen exactly in its present position? It is not, it cannot be, the object of Conservatism to preserve things just as they now are, as no one can say what that state is.

The British constitution is, to begin with, sufficiently heterogeneous. It cannot be surveyed and charted with geographical precision; and no one but a foreigner, who of course saw only the outside of things, ever attempted such a work. This is its peculiarity and its boast: it glories in being anomalous and indescribable. Like some of the colleges at Oxford, it is not one foundation, but a bundle of successive foundations. In it are many diverse *modes* of social order, and they as much jumbled together as the different styles of architecture in one of our cathedrals, in which we may see from their present state as well as from history, that schools of taste rose and fell and were forgotten during the progress of the building. One architect destroyed, or hid, or supplanted, or altered, or built upon, or ornamented, the work of his predecessor. So now the whole presents a series of formations. Not less numerous and discordant are the elements of our social structure. Its pillars are the gifts of as many kings, not contemporary as the contributors to the temple of Ephesus, but the thirty kings of thirty successive generations. Every age, every race of man, every political epoch, has contributed its characteristic quota to the whole. The very names of St. Augustine, Alfred, Edward the Confessor, the Norman Conqueror, the Barons, the Burghers, Thomas à Beckett, Simon de Montford, the Edwards, the houses of York and Lancaster, Henry and his children, and Cranmer, the Stuarts and Laud, the Puritans, the Dutch Conqueror, and the House of Brunswick, recal not merely historical

events, but existing portions of our constitution—every portion vital and active, not as a mere organ, as a mere member deriving all its force and character from the whole constitution, but with a certain *independent* agency. Every part is individual as are the human individuals in the state. To explain them all by one theory of politics, would be like trying to resolve all the phenomena of nature into the attraction of gravitation. The birth of each part was some political crisis : perhaps it began in the dangers and throes of the state—in a struggle against the preponderance, or the abuse, or perhaps the proper use of some other part of the common weal ; and each part has continued the struggle in which it began. So that the constitution may be described as a collection of various independent forces, a federal union not of territorial states but of different political powers occupying the same ground, and vested in the same population. Thus, without attempting a full or accurate enumeration, the Church as a self-governing body, the monarchy, the peerage, and the representatives of the people, the Universities, and other corporations civil and ecclesiastical, the gentry, trial by jury, the interpretation of the law as vested in the judges, and certain principles, such our insular jealousy of foreign interference, and on the other hand the actual necessity of some peaceful understanding with the rest of our species, the principle of democracy and voluntary combinations, our sacred regard for prescriptive rights, and still more sacred claim of personal liberty, may all be considered as *distinct* powers ; so far distinct as to be generally in some degree of collision. Liberty with us consists not in a charter, not in the clauses of a *Code Napoleon*, but in the mutual subordination of these powers. Sometimes one preponderates and sometimes another. Sometimes two or three combine, and for a time overthrow the rest : but we question if it is possible that any one of these principles, or any others like them, whose permanent operation can be proved from history, should ever be extinguished. Though they seem for a time to be thrown out of place and lost, yet, like figures moving and disappearing in the mazes of a dance, by and bye we find them all in their original stations. The monarchy, administered with subtlety or violence, has in its day overpowered all the other principles of the constitution ; but it has only proved thereby that it cannot stand alone in England. Having almost destroyed the *legitimate* exercise of those other principles, it has in its own time been thrown into abeyance by their *irregular* operation. It is superfluous to particularize the occasions, for they must occur to every reader, when each one of the above enumerated *powers* of the constitution has had its day of ascendancy, the certain presage of its downfall and its undue depression. History assures us, in spite

of the present adverse appearances, that no one of them can ever permanently triumph in this nation, any more than one temperature or one wind can permanently exclude all others in the mixed and changeable climate of these islands: nor can any one of them be long suspended. The passions of the people will run sometimes for, and sometimes against one of these forces of the state, —sometimes it is the panacea to make some one of them supreme, sometimes to extinguish it altogether. But, though each one of them in its turn does lie under suspicion of being the source of all public evil, yet to eradicate one, even if it were possible, would be like the vain attempt we sometimes see to cure a face-ache by drawing a suspected tooth. You may draw every tooth in your patient's head in search of the peccant individual, and find the pain still unabated.

Thus juries have alternately been thought the palladium and the ruin of the constitution. They have been bribed and threatened, and packed and coerced by tyrannizing executives, and, when immovable and incorruptible, dispensed with altogether, till the people have concluded that if the royal prerogative could be kept within due bounds, then twelve men, once put into a box and sworn in, would be by an eternal necessity as devoid of prejudice, as independent of external influences, as all-sufficient in themselves, as the gods of Epicurus. On the strength of this unbounded confidence reposed in them, juries have encroached on the ancient province of the judge, and taken to interpret the law as well as to decide questions of fact. They have proceeded to wage war with prescription, with the prerogatives of the crown, and with the all-potent House of Commons itself. Some people have rejoiced in the verdicts of juries the more outrageous they felt them to be, because they seemed to prove all the more the absolute power of England's best security. The current is now turning the other way. For several years the utmost suffrage the popular party has given to the once sacred cause of trial by jury, has been rather of the meek and resigned, than the forward and noisy, character. Nay, one of their own philosophers, their great lawgiver Bentham, has meddled with the very constitution of a jury, by proposing that the verdict should be according to the votes of a certain majority; which would involve a greater regard to the judgment of each individual, and therefore a more choice selection; and it is hardly necessary to observe that a picked jury is to a certain extent a packed one. The popular party *now* think their work surer done by stipendiary magistrates removable at pleasure, and by commissioners, who are of course only the breath of a premier's nostrils, than by twelve men taken at random out of a market place. On the other hand, they who used to think twelve jurymen as preca-

rious an ordeal as so many red hot plough shares; and who used to say they would rather be at the mercy of the Dey of Algiers, or a throw of dice, than a London jury, now turn with hope to this refuge against arbitrary power. They prefer an even chance to adverse probabilities.

Now we think the same is true of every other part or power, as we have expressed it, of the constitution. It is sometimes aggressive, and unduly controuling its fellow powers—sometimes on the defensive, and almost crushed. Sometimes in alliance with some of its fellows, sometimes with others. But as this struggle cannot always go on without attempts at compromise, there is every now and then at the great epochs of the nation a kind of settlement—a give and take; in which each power, though it may change its mode of operation, still continues the same: though it may pass into a new state, it retains its old identity. However it may lose in the temporary compromise, it can still point to its ancient self; and if it be defrauded, can demand not only a restitution of what it once was, but also a fair development of its original powers. Thus for ages the people of England remembered and claimed the laws of Edward the Confessor as something once given, as a gift without repentance. The Conquest had almost set them aside, and the gradual process of Norman legislation, and Norman usages, had established a new order of things. Yet the people persisted in dreaming of the Confessor's laws, as a living legend, as a lost child, as a loved person whose return may still be hoped for, though there are no certain tidings of his existence. These laws then might be considered as one of the forces of the state, which, if not in actual operation, were not concluded therefore to be dead, but dormant. They *did* exist—not indeed in written laws, not in oaths and sign manuals and such mock securities, but in the minds and remembrances and expectations of the people. The Norman tyranny went onwards like a flood, effacing old landmarks, altering customs, and exacting rigid outward obedience to the old system. Nevertheless the people remembered and hoped. They did not content themselves with acting on the defensive, for this they could not effectually do; they did not struggle for the state of things for the time being, in the fear of greater encroachments; they asked, they accepted, no compromise; they demanded back their own. They claimed the laws of the Confessor as an indigenous thing, and inherent power of the realm, a national faculty, a member of the state living though bound, in like manner as a captive might demand the use of his limbs. They claimed them fresh and full from Saxon antiquity. Pelias, in Grecian story, consented to be cut up and boiled, not for the conservation of his

old age, but the restoration of his youth: so it was not for the dwindled remainder of their charter that our forefathers struggled; nay, they perilled *it* for the original *whole*. This claim, desperate as it might seem to the fainthearted, legendary and obsolete as it might be deemed by the mere lawyer, the man of parchments and precedents, was at length granted in full and with interest. Kings before they step on their thrones, and barons before they could prescribe limits to the monarchy, were obliged to admit, and to grant little by little, the demands of a nation. What is the result? A freedom such as the Saxon villain neither remembered, nor hoped, nor dreamt of, which has made the Norman tyranny in its turn a forgotten thing, a mere tale of romance. Some one has said that when a country has once lost its liberty, it never recovers it: but does not the history of our country go some way to prove that when a country has once been free, it never ceases to be free? This was the result of not merely acting on the defensive, the conservative line, not merely struggling for the existing settlement, injurious, and may be forced upon us against our will, but for original rights in their original state, not impaired by modern usurpation, nor curtailed by modern usage.

We have thus given an *actual* instance of the way in which our forefathers met injustice and violence, viz. not by struggling vainly for the existing compromise, the settlement of ten years standing, already broken by the oppressor, and not good for much to begin with: but recurring to the original elements of the constitution, and treating them as living and recoverable. We will now take an *imaginary*, though we conceive not impossible, instance. Let us suppose that the divisions between Protestants and Papists, between the *de facto* and alleged *de jure* possessors of the soil in Ireland, between Churchmen and Dissenters, between masters and operatives in England, should come to such a pass, and oaths should come to be so disregarded, that few juries would or durst give true verdicts, or any verdicts at all;—let us suppose it at length taken for granted that a negro, an emancipated convict, or an Irish papist, was not to be trusted with the scales of justice on all possible questions;—supposing in consequence of these discoveries the system of juries was so modified, the wild beast was so chained and domesticated, as to offer no inflexible resistance to arbitrary power;—let us suppose the jury still summoned and still required to go through the form of deliberation, but that it only gave an idle sanction to a verdict already prepared by a more competent, *i. e.* a more powerful, authority;—let us suppose the royal arms over the judge became the jurymen's tables of law and conscience, and the twelve honest men dwindled into a mere state appendage like the judge's wig, a

mere pageant of justice as the sheriff's javelin men are a mere pageant of power:—We know that liberals could find it in their hearts not only to modify, but to destroy the jury system. Thus the *Morning Chronicle*, we believe of December 24, 1833, says, "We would not only not allow jury-trial in Ireland at all, but we would not allow a single Irishman to be a magistrate in Ireland." However, let us suppose that they thought it expedient to give way to the popular prejudice, and that they respected the sanctity of the name of jury, though they reduced it to a dead letter and made the thing a nullity; now we say, that, in the minds of Englishmen, that dead letter would still be instinct with vitality, like seeds buried for a thousand years and only waiting for sun and rain to burst into life and growth. If then the oppressor for the time being, dreading the name even in this inert and quiescent state, were threatening and compassing to obliterate even the last shred of trial by jury from the constitution, how would he be met by the patriots whom the treason would raise up against him? Would they take their ground on the state of things exactly as they found it? Would they say, "We will fight and die for this miserable fragment, for this shrunk and mutilated relic of ancient liberty?" Would they agitate for the abuse as well as for the use, for the corruption as well as for the integrity of the thing? Would they utterly forget what it had once been, nay, what it still really was in its own nature and profession; and be content with it, in its last stage of inefficiency and decrepitude? We think not. They would say, "We have for ages submitted to evil compromises, and for the sake of present peace suffered our ancient rights and our legal remedies to be maimed and straitened: but *you* now break the compromise; *you* release us yourselves from the unequal compacts, which though we inwardly fretted at, we should never have broken of our own accord. We are peaceably inclined, but you make us radicals. You are taking away trial by jury *as it is*, and divers other privileges, which are our only, though inadequate, compensation for the evils of our present case; therefore we will now have trial by jury *as it was*."

As we only profess to speak of Conservatism in its bearing on the Church, we shall of course be anticipated by the reader in our application of these remarks, and of these two similitudes.* We need scarcely say that we do not think Conservatives are *generally* taking that bold, but not less successful, line, which our Saxon forefathers have taught us, and which we have ascribed to

* If it is necessary to refer to a noble exemplification of the higher line of action here recommended, it will be found in a recent work which has caused a deep sensation in religious and political circles, Mr. Gladstone's *Essay on the Relations of the State with the Church*.

our imaginary patriots of the 20th or 21st century agitating for trial by jury. Conservatism avowedly takes up the establishment not the Church; the thing as it now is, not as it was; as compromised, not as uncompromised; as our enemies or unwise friends have made it, not as it is in its own essence. Let us see then if it is not doing the same thing as if those Saxons had been content with such scanty measure and modification of the laws of their ancestors as the Normans were allowing them; and in the apprehension of further oppression and bondage had taken their ground on that scanty measure, and that measure only.

If there is any thing that has a right to be considered one of the original elements of the state, and to be treated apart from the mixed forms in which it may happen to be presented to us, it is the Church. It is self-existent in an infinitely higher and more real sense than any temporal thing: it is a bond of union, a law of obedience, a holy discipline, a system of government and actual succession of rulers, antecedent as well in time as in other respects to all the secular realms within its golden pale. Almighty wisdom hath so confounded the old world, that no earthly institution, no code of laws, no line of kings, no community of men, can date further back than the command to go and teach all nations. All the kingdoms that now are have been born in the Church's bosom. The pride of man that eagerly avails itself of the least pretence to antiquity, that would gladly prove a descent from Nero, or an identity of social bond with the impurest pagan mysteries, is obliged to stop short before it gets back to the year of grace, which is thus practically as ancient and unapproachable to all our civil institutions, as the era of the world's first creation. All that remains of the old world is a dead literature, buildings, and other inanimate things, with which we have no real community. It is all as external to our, i. e. the Christian, system, as are the alleged remains of ante-Adamite creations. Even the lawyer and the historian must admit the Church to be the oldest part of the realm. It was established throughout England, before England was one kingdom. So the ecclesiastical union is older than the civil, and most probably the origin of it. The Bible is the oldest written law, the customs of the Church the oldest precedents, the ministers of the Church the oldest officers, the episcopal chairs the oldest thrones, in the realm.

The Church then has every claim to be considered as an original element, a distinct power. We are historically able, in fact, to contemplate the Church as distinct from the State, though we cannot conceive the State as distinct from the Church, for it never was out of the Church. The State is a member, or an

organ, or a child, of the Church. If there is any thing that we know of, which may be called a substance and not a mere quality of temporal things; any thing that possesses individuality; any thing that may be contemplated by itself in its growth and development detached from temporary arrangements, and compromises, and articles of peace and settlement, and legislative enactments, and accidental usages; it is the Church of Christ. Whatever we may do it still exists;—whatever alterations we may make, we only alter ourselves, it remains the same;—if we try to bind it, we only bind ourselves, it remains free as ever. We did not make it, nor can we unmake it: if we disobey, its authority is as strong as ever, and nothing comes of our disobedience except that we are rebels. It is not a vision whose existence depends on our seeing it; if we close our eyes, there it is still.

But though we ought not for a moment to lose our perceptions of the Church as an independent power, we are obliged in practice to regard it in a certain combination with the temporal state. Though it is no mere function of the state; nor even merely co-ordinate and follow with the other powers of the State, but infinitely superior and paramount of Divine right, without any thing in the world either equal or second to it; yet it must needs co-operate or clash with those other powers, because like them it must operate through human institutions. To avoid perpetual collision, covenants and understandings are required, which constitute the relation of Church and State. A covenant which is supposed to render both unto God and unto Cæsar their dues, is called *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, Church and State; by virtue of which the two are supposed to be identical. It is needless to add that a perfect relation of this sort is Utopian. There never has been an established relation between the Church and the State that was a matter of free choice on both sides, and which was not to a considerable extent compulsory and accidental—a hard alternative of evils. There has always been usurpation and secularity on one or both sides, and one has always, in the eyes of the world, and to use a phrase of the world, had the best of the bargain; though of course in the balance of the sanctuary both are found losers, the aggressor being really the greater loser of the two. The continual change inherent in human affairs, not to speak of the evil passions and bad faith of the contracting parties, always introduces forthwith still greater unfairnesses into such covenants, till at length they are so manifestly broken or utterly rejected, that a new one becomes necessary.

This is not the place either to give our own ideal, if we had one, of a perfect relation, a thoroughly Church State; or to allude to the relations established elsewhere and in our country in

other times. Nor again is it necessary to give an exact account of the original settlement and the present condition of the relations now subsisting between the Church and the State in this realm. A very cursory view of the question as the Tudors left it is sufficient for our present purpose, which is to point out generally what seems to us the proper line of right thinking Conservatives.

The Church certainly was obliged to compound matters sadly with that worldly wise and arbitrary family. There was a century of barter and mutual accommodation. It is true the terms of the compromise were not all exactly specified, a circumstance which palliates the religious aspect, though it increased the ill consequences of this proceeding. But undefined as the terms were in some instances; imperceptibly and unconsciously as they might have been acquiesced in; still it was a compromise, and there were certain terms.

First. *What the State gave*, or continued to give in accordance with ancient usage, was as follows. 1. The sovereign was Defender of the Faith, and so pledged to favor and maintain exclusively the Church of which he was a member, and which had sanctified his crown. 2. Not merely parliament and corporations, but the whole nation, were bound by temporal penalties to be members of the Church, which was thus literally the law of the land. To be in communion with her was as compulsory (we are stating facts not proprieties) as to abstain from stealing or murder. 3. The property of the Church, such as was left, continued, like other property, protected by the law, *i. e.* it might be recovered by civil suits. 4. The clerical portion of the Church taxed the property of the Church in Convocation. 5. The real property of the country was liable to a rate for the maintenance of Churches in decent order, and for the necessary expenses of public worship. 6. The Bishops sat in the House of Lords; a right secured to them, as the freedom of their election once had been, by the first clause of Magna Charta. 7. The Church retained in Convocation a certain power of self-government, of censure, &c. 8. The management of the poor, and the collection and distribution of public charity was given to the Church, and expressly confined to it by law. 9. Education was put under the care of the Church, none being allowed to teach without its license. This is a rough enumeration of the gifts conceded by the State to the Church: of which we may observe that some it could not but give; some were as the gifts of the Danai; and one of them the Church could not use consistently with the spirit of Christianity, or its own temporal weal. Still they were gifts, and whatever the Church gave in return, many will say that taking

a mercantile view of the matter, she had at any rate her *quid pro quo*.

Next, what the Church conceded to the State was as follows :

1. In return for the promised defence of the Church, she allowed the sovereign to be in various important senses Head of the Church. She admitted his judicial supremacy, surrendering to him her own courts, the power of excommunication, and all spiritual judgments and sentences.
2. She gave up that alliance with the Church of Rome, which, though involving far more serious evils, had been at least her chief counterpoise to the tyranny of the State.
3. She surrendered her pliancy and versatility of action ; her religious orders and fraternities, adapted for divers purposes, and suited to various ranks and characters ; the independent yet harmonious agency of her dioceses ; in a word, the freedom of the episcopal, as contrasted with the stiffness of the parliamentary, system.
4. She gave up her old provincial councils for convocation, an assembly, unlike them, assembled and dismissed at the pleasure of the sovereign.
5. She allowed him the right to constitute ecclesiastical commissions for various purposes, to prescribe forms of prayer, &c.
6. She suffered the Episcopate to be reduced to bondage, and with the chapters to be bound by the Præmunire ; so that our Apostolical sees became pieces of crown patronage ; and no bishop could be ordained even without jurisdiction, *e. g.* as a coadjutor, suffragan, or missionary, unless with the royal consent.
7. She acquiesced in the greater part of the ministerial offices of the Church, viz., the parochial cures, continuing, or being then first placed in the hands of the sovereign and other land-owners.
8. She bore the interference of parliament in ecclesiastical affairs ; and suffered ecclesiastical laws and usages to be controlled by common law, &c. &c.

Now some of these concessions do not seem so enormous when we remember that item on the other side, that the whole nation was by law in the communion of the Church. The understanding was that the Church and State were identical ; the sovereign, like David, an anointed servant of the Church ; parliament a council of the Church ; and so forth. There was nothing merely civil, nothing extra-ecclesiastical or external to the Church, in the realm. Nevertheless these were vast sacrifices, such as nothing could sanction but grievous necessity. Religionists of strong views, whether Churchman or Puritan, will be apt to think the Church was guilty of Esau's profaneness, or that, like Issachar, " he saw that *rest* was good, and the *land* that it was pleasant ; and bowed his shoulder to bear, and became a servant unto tribute." Looking on the whole as a commercial bargain, or a political treaty, it does seem to admit of question

whether the Church could in conscience, or should in prudence, have put her signature to such a deed. And again, it may reasonably be doubted whether, supposing the compact extorted from her and written in her blood, it was afterwards worth struggling for, even further supposing its conditions had all been punctually fulfilled. We cannot wonder at the prejudices of a man who, having read that first commission of the Apostles empowering *them* to bind and loose, to sit on twelve thrones, and so forth, should think it ill developed, or rather itself bound, aye, almost superseded, by this new commission empowering *another* to nominate and choose to their office, to sit in their throne of judgment, to bind and loose in their stead; and should therefore be content to surrender the new commission in the hope of restoring the old.

But this is by no means the question as it now stands. For while the Church, like a faithful drudge, has been honourable even to baseness, and dutiful even to servility, in rendering every compliance and fulfilment which the State could demand of her by virtue of her surrender; there is not an item in the list of compensations which has not been either forgotten or diminished, or wilfully obliterated, or forcibly withdrawn and given to her rivals and her foes.

A few words will suffice to show this—1. The “Defender of the Faith” is now bound by the terms of the Union to defend and maintain the Kirk in Scotland; by terms of capitulation, popery in the Canadas; by treaties, idolatry in Hindostan, and so forth; while we should be only too happy if its defence and maintenance was confined to the discharge of these very questionable and incongruous obligations. The sovereign as head of the executive voluntarily maintains a popish college in Ireland, and sends out popish bishops to the Cape of Good Hope and Australia. The coronation oath, which once pledged the sovereign to defend exclusively the Church of England, was altered for the worse at the Revolution; and a further attempt has recently been made to explain it away by a declaration put into her Majesty’s mouth at her accession. As for the sovereign’s *judicial* supremacy in the Church, he has all but shut up her tribunals, grievously clogged her discipline, and made excommunication impracticable. 2. Not only are the penal laws repealed (which no one would wish to see retained), and dissent expressly tolerated, but none of the privileges and offices of the State are necessarily confined to churchmen. The corporations have been first thrown open, then destroyed; as was also the old House of Commons. Indeed every thing is thrown open excepting the throne. Persons out of the communion of the English Church

may, and do, turn the scale of deliberation in parliament, and advise her majesty in council. Thus and by other means the enemies of the Church do actually legislate for her, interfere with her internal economy, and procure nomination to her chief offices. It must also be remembered that Papists are now allowed to exercise rights of patronage in the Church. 3. The whole of the Church property in Ireland, and great part in England has been vested in a commission so constituted as to be entirely under the control of the crown. Tithes have been done away with, and a form of property *violently* substituted less ecclesiastical, and in all respects less advantageous to the prospective interests of the Church. In Ireland both these measures have been accompanied with an avowed and systematic reduction or alienation of Church property. 4. The property of the Church is no longer taxed by convocation. 5. Church rates are abolished in Ireland by a law, the result of which is that landed property is entirely relieved of that payment, and the fabrics are maintained out of the incomes of the clergy. They are threatened in England, and already rendered precarious and difficult to be enforced. 6. The right of the bishops to sit in the House of Lords, though not yet taken away, has been reduced in value to half a quarter of what it was. Mr. Wilberforce observes, in his *Parochial System*, p. 114, "our prelates are not now more numerous than in the reign of Henry VIII., while the temporal peers have been multiplied near eight times." Nay, so jealous are the powers that be of any addition to that dangerous order, that when the vast increase of population in some districts absolutely required additional bishops, they were granted two subtracted from other districts, which had also vastly increased, though not quite in the same proportion. 7. Convocation is suspended and virtually suppressed, on the plea that there is nothing for it to do; while at the same time the State is violently and prejudicially legislating for the Church, on the plea that there is a great deal to be done, and that the Church has criminally neglected to do it. 8. The management of the poor and of the public collection for them is entirely taken out of the hands of the Church. Dissenters, Papists, &c. may, and in many instances do, decide when and how and where the Church's own poor are to be relieved, according to what creed they are to worship, and their children to be instructed. 9. The episcopal right of licensing schoolmasters is now a dead letter, whatever it was once. The ancient constitutional right of the Archbishop of Canterbury to visit all universities in this realm is no longer allowed. A universal system of education without a religious creed is forced throughout Ireland, the *corpus vile* on which our rulers try all their experiments; and we accordingly are menaced

with the same here. The State, as observed above, already maintains a Popish college in that island, and contributes here to dissenting schools on the same terms as to Church schools. Both a university and a college have been chartered, avowedly out of the Church, and excluding religion altogether. 10. To the above we might add many other infractions of the covenant, especially one, the flagrant illustrations of which by the present ministry have led to a very full historical exposure of it by a correspondent in the British Magazine. It was, till the present generation, the constant practice of the sovereign to consult the highest ecclesiastical authorities, as his constitutional advisers, on the appointment to bishoprics and other chief dignities. These appointments have lately been several times made, in avowed defiance of the advice of those authorities.

Truly we may say, on the review of these items, that the State has not "*changed* our wages ten times," but *withdrawn* them ten times : it has not merely substituted but altogether denied : while our once free service has been gradually changed into bondage. We need not now go through the concessions made by the Church to the State in order to prove the unfair and evil use that has been made of them against the Church herself. We use the word unfairness, though it may seem ridiculous to do so, when it is remembered that ten changeful generations of men, and a hundred different political factions, cabals, coalitions and divisions, tyrannies and rebellions, have been the aggressor. We are only speaking of the *fact*, and the fact is all we have to do with, when we are considering the important question, whether the existing relation of the Church and the State is worth having, worth taking our stand upon, worth struggling for, worth the sacrifice of higher grounds and more real ways and means, worth any thing in fact, but resignation. The State, in affecting to govern the Church, was but undertaking an impossible labour, a Phaëton's vain ambition. It has not done, it could not do, what it promised. It came forward to correct certain erroneous developments of Church principles ; it could only coerce and stifle them with brute force, and that only for the present ; it could only cut them down with the axe. The result has only shown the deep roots and unconquerable vitality of those principles, as they have shot up into new and more mistaken developments, like the suckers from the stump of a tree cut down. The State neither will nor can correct the manifold evils that have grown up under its killing patronage, nor is it willing to restore to the Church the power of doing it herself. The State suppressed the religious orders, those *imperia in imperio*, those licensed divisions, the Pope's militia as they are called. Mark the result ; in their place and taking the

same part in the drama, we have the dissenting communities, the avowed militia of any anti-christian party that may get at the helm of affairs; still the bitter enemies of the parochial clergy; still bartering, cheapening, and vulgarizing the truths of the Gospel; still, we may say, inverting the words of the old poet, *cauponantes bellum, non belligerantes*; still holding all together for the purposes of secular ascendancy, though ever so discordant in theological dogmas. One chief plea the State pretended to our gratitude, and one chief part of its undertaking for the future, was putting down the democratic or voluntary principle as manifested in these religious orders: the State did indeed suppress *them*, but instead of helping to suppress, it now fosters, the present exhibition of that principle in the dissenting communities. The State has made it penal for the Church to communicate with the bishop of Rome, but formally recognizes the same act in the English and Irish papists. *We* communicate with no other branch of the Church; while every sect in the country communicates with foreign bodies, and in practice as well as theory identifies itself with them, as much as our Church once did with the Church of Rome. The popish bishops in England send out bishops when and where they please—the bishops of the Church of England cannot, without leave of the Crown: which in the most important and most urgent case of the sort that ever occurred in the history of the Church catholic, viz the American Colonies, was for generations stubbornly refused till it was too late, till the Almighty brought about that very calamity, the fear of which had made our rulers refuse to do Him honour, and spread His true Church. It is not too much to say, that all religious bodies in England have liberty but the Church. She cannot admit or exclude from her pale at her discretion; she cannot administer or refuse her ordinances as she thinks fit; she must profane them if called upon; she cannot make new arrangements for new emergencies; she cannot concentrate or diffuse her strength, her labourers and her other resources; she cannot recast her services, or add to them, if need be, for daily use and different hours; she cannot amend one hasty or violent alteration, one inconsiderate omission made in former days; she cannot either speak or authorize as a whole, for she has lent her signet to the State; she cannot make commissions for missionary or other purposes; she cannot praise or blame—for attempting the latter on a most needful occasion, she was deprived of the last remaining semblance of a deliberative body; she cannot put forth a single homily, a single revision of the old homilies, or a single tract, even so much as the simplest comment on her catechism; all which things every other religious body in the realm can do, and does abundantly.

We are fain, therefore, to ask ourselves the question, which nothing but the most calamitous circumstances can render loyal and reverential, whether it is our duty to defend and maintain strenuously the present position of the Church, and her *de facto* relations to the State? As we have suggested above, her relations are at this moment so undefined, such discordance is there between rights and facts, between principles and practice, that we must consider her worldly position to be *in transitu*. We do not know where we are. "Neither sun nor stars" have for many days appeared, and "no small tempest lies upon us." Our darkness and perplexities will perhaps only clear away in time to show us the impending shipwreck of our temporal fortunes. Those persons, therefore, who take their ground on things *as they now are*, do in fact struggle for a position unknown and unascertainable; a confused medley of conflicting relations, a pass to which affairs have come so quickly that human ken cannot follow, human intellect cannot trace or describe it, and which to-morrow we shall have left far behind. The present crisis will not be known or truly told, till it becomes a tale of by-gone days.

But supposing it were possible to arrest the course of events, and by a single wave of the white flag to effect a sudden armistice between us and the seven times seven chiefs advancing against our sacred walls: supposing it were possible to suspend preparation and design; to make the pursuer forget pursuit, and the fugitive his flight; to efface from the minds of all their hopes and their fears, the memory of the rights they have lost, or the successes they have gained: supposing we could then make every party's present actual position in the realm its permanent law and limitation; taking from every one an oath—"This heap be witness, and this pillar be witness, that I will not pass over this pillar to thee, and that thou should not pass over this heap and this pillar unto me, for harm."—Supposing all this were possible, what good Churchman would deliberately desire it?—Desire the Church to be one of many sects distinguished from them by little but its bondage contrasted with their liberty?—Desire the perpetual obligation of a contract in which every fatal concession is amply and distinctly recorded, and from which almost every item of honor and advantage has now been erased?

We conclude then, that as the original compromises between the Church and the State have been utterly violated on the part of the latter; and it is as impossible as it would be undesirable to recal them; and as it is still less possible or desirable to abide by the miserable remnants of them which *we* have to deal with; we are driven *per force* to direct our attention to the pure ele-

ment of the Church, divested as much as possible of accidental associations. Since we are no longer permitted to view it embodied in the constitution of this realm, it becomes our only consolation, and should be our spontaneous delight, to realize the purer majesty she wore before that constitution, or the very name of England yet was known.

But it is neither the Church of primitive times, nor the Church and State of Toryism, that the Conservative takes his stand upon. An Establishment is his Utopia; and, considered as an object of defence and maintenance, it is infinitely more Utopian than either of the other two. We say this, because Conservatives neither will nor can explain what they mean by this odious word. They place it somewhere between their notion of the Church Catholic and Voluntaryism; as if they should say the duty of a subject lies somewhere between obedience and rebellion, or the duty of a state lies somewhere between countenancing and neglecting the Truth.

It is true there are manifestos enough, and speeches enough declaring the mighty objects of Conservatism; but they are generally uttered on occasions when words are not sifted by the hearer, and therefore are not measured by the speaker; and they are couched in terms which may mean every thing or nothing. Thus Sir James Graham bids Conservatives "look what their institutions were three hundred years ago, when the mind of the country was relieved from the thralldom of the Pope, &c.;" though we question whether he would, if pressed, and with much time for reflection, wish to undo the events of the last three centuries, and recover from the gulph of past times the very letter of the compromise between Church and State, transmitted to us by our Reformers. The generous-minded baronet, finding himself somewhat in the situation of Burke, has evidently learnt that writer's system of a consecrated state; and probably would rather not date its consecration either in the first or the third William. Yet spite of the cautiousness of his mean epoch, we think that if his wish was literally complied with, he would soon find himself like Tarpeia in the receipt of a good deal more than he had thought included in his bargain. The Conservative who takes this line entails on himself the same unforeseen consequences as the Ultra-Protestant, whose pretended basis is that most undefined of all undefinables, the "principles of the Reformation." Both are evidently little prepared to be taken at their word. Thus seventeen "sons of the Reformation" at Liverpool, including Mr. Hugh McNeile and several other clergymen, have published in the *Record*, December 20th, an offer to contribute largely to a Church in memory of the Reformers, on *one* condi-

tion, which, with the reason assigned for it, is most ingeniously destructive of their testimony to at least one of the names in question. In fact compliance with it would render the Church a standing protest against one of the principles for which they profess such wholesale admiration. They stipulate that the patronage shall be vested in trustees of their own way of thinking, as a "protection from the *congé d'elire*, which," they proceed, "is little better than an insult offered to the cathedral clergy. Those venerable bodies being invited with satirical courtesy to choose a bishop, assemble to the mortifying reality of registering a nomination." Now this is one of the "principles of the Reformation," and like many others of a similar questionable character, was laid down and enacted A. D. 1534, when Cranmer was all potent with Henry VIII. and his parliament. To *him* then, more than to any other, are we indebted for the insulting mockery these gentlemen so justly resent. Every trustee Church is a censure of *him* and of the principles of the Reformation stronger than words can be. It is true the evil is aggravated by the present unecclesiastical circumstances of the nation, as is intimated in the production referred to; but it is an evil, and their own words admit it to be so, under any circumstances. It is well for Mr. M'Neile and his friends that they are able to express this qualified, or rather self-contradictory, approbation of Cranmer and his work at the safe distance of three centuries; as otherwise they would undoubtedly have shared the fate of Fisher, More, and the Carthusian monks, and that with the perfect acquiescence of the object of their rapturous love and veneration.

Most Conservatives content themselves with referring to a more recent era, the "Glorious Revolution." Thus the writer of a pamphlet entitled the State and Prospects of Toryism in January, 1834, says, "there are two great parties into which the people of this country are divided. The *Tories* (a euphemism for Conservatives) or supporters of the Constitution which has existed in this country for the last 150 years; and the *Radicals* or Republicans, &c." This again will not bear a moment's examination. Exactly 150 years since the Church gained the rigorous exclusion of the Papists, and the second clause in the Bill of Rights against Ecclesiastical Commissions. In return for these she suffered the further toleration of Protestant Dissenters, besides certain considerable injuries. These were, perhaps, the three most prominent features of the change which then took place, and may be considered to characterize the intervening period of the constitution—yet the Conservatives do not support one of them. The first no longer exists; and being only a matter of history may be desiderated, but can no longer be an object of

support. As for the second, Sir Robert Peel has himself, with the very general approbation of Conservatives, effaced it from the constitution, by establishing a perpetual ecclesiastical commission, entirely under the control of the crown. The third is much too thriving an affair to stand in need of any support, even if the Conservatives were disposed to give it. If therefore Conservatism still pretends to take its stand on the glorious 1688, we can only say that, like the Persian criminal who was decapitated with so keen an edge, and with such dexterity, that he was not sensible of his loss, "it does not know that its head is cut off." But in a constitution like ours, which changes from day to day, those references to particular epochs can only be considered as idle expressions of feeling, or as rhetorical flourishes; they do not pledge the speaker to any line of conduct, to any definite aim or object. There is no such thing either in present reality or in past history as the constitution of the last 300, or the last 150, or the last ten years. Men would gladly seem constitutional; and they know they cannot with decency pretend to be so, unless they go a little way back in history; but they soon find themselves forced to limit their political retrospections. If however they specify any one era whatever as their ideal mould of the constitution, they do as much pledge themselves to all the more important ingredients then retained or admitted, as they repudiate what were then rejected. For example, convocation was an important part of the relations of Church and State in 1688; important not for its efficiency, or for the form of its constitution, which was never designed for efficiency, but as an admission of the Church's right to a proper deliberative body. Dr. Johnson said that he "would stand before a battery of cannon to restore the convocation to its full powers;" but we question whether many of even the most zealous modern supporters of the state of things bequeathed to us by William III. would be ready to follow his example.

We are again frequently told that the object of Conservatism is "the preservation of the British Constitution whole and inviolate in all its parts," or of the glorious and unrivalled "institutions of Church and State," or is "the maintenance of all our rights and privileges," and so forth. There is a certain plurality as well as vagueness in these declarations, which as much baffles the Churchman in his search after the Conservative ideal, as do mere references to epochs and periods of history. The speaker no more really means *all* the parts of the existent constitution than does the Orangeman of 1839 mean the *whole* of the settlement of 1688. Men know very well the value of general professions and general invitations on the private occasions of life; "All I have is at your service," "Make any use of me you please," "I shall

be glad to see you whenever you come our way," are expressions that, in the world's currency, do not amount to one definite offer of assistance, however small, or to one invitation with place, day, hour, &c. duly specified. Some one said of a certain party in the House of Commons that he was always sure of their votes, except when he wanted them; we fear the support we are to expect from our Conservative friends is of the same officious but unprofitable character.

Moreover we cannot conceal from ourselves that when Conservatives talk of our "institutions in Church and State," their use of the plural number indicates not only the vagueness but the materiality of their aims. The Church is a unity: her true sons delight in this unity, and are rightly suspicious of those who break it up into parts. The whole of a man's actions and professions, and his "establishment" to boot, do not constitute the man himself. So the Church is in a different category from her "institutions." It is no more possible to make a Church out of institutions than it is to make a living man out of the bones, sinews, flesh, skin, &c. of dead men. Cathedrals and churches, dioceses and parishes, episcopal and parochial endowments, &c. are institutions to be reverentially cherished and zealously maintained; but they are only forms of operation, secular adjuncts, temporal functions of the one Church. This jealousy of hearing the Church spoken of as a bundle of institutions, is no more than what every reader will recognize in the case of our personal friendships. When men hear a friend spoken of as being in "good society," having such a "place" with such an income, being owner of such a property, having such and such connections, "keeping a good house," and giving very good dinners, &c., though every word be laudatory, still they inwardly resent, or smile at, the *external* description, the division into physical details, their friend is suffering. In this case their friendship is a key by which they enter as it were into the secret of their friend, and see him in his personal unity divested of these adventitious circumstances.

We painfully desiderate also in most Conservative professions of attachment any express mention of the proper relative position of the Church; which it is needless to observe is infinitely more important than her "institutions;" or rather is the most important of her institutions. *They* may be said to constitute her actual present state; while her *position* is almost tantamount to her differential, her element of change, the direction of her future history. The institutions of the Church may for a short time continue the same under very different relations, *i. e.* with or without an understood right of self-government and independence of alien interference; with or without an acknowledgment of the principle

of tradition, authoritative precedent and succession in the Church; with or without a deference to her *paramount* claim on the obedience of all mankind; with or without communion with foreign churches: but it will speedily be found that the "institutions" are but the dead passive material, while these relations are the living active principle. All men apprehend this sufficiently in matters of property and politics. The occupation of property is *visibly* the same in all cases; but we regard it very differently when we take into account the comparative position of the occupier, *i. e.* whether he be renter, life tenant, lessee, or owner. To take another illustration, we can conceive this country reduced by some great vicissitude of human affairs to payment of tribute, or conditions of service, to an emperor of the French; or forced into an injurious union with some great European confederation; in either case, without any immediate change in her institutions. Her King, Lords and Commons, magistrates, standing army, police, &c. might at first continue all the same as ever. Yet the results would soon show that internal institutions are but chaff before the wind compared with foreign domination; and without waiting for the results, without even caring whether they were likely to come or not, the patriot would devote himself entirely to recover the *relation* of independence, and in pursuit of this paramount object would make nothing of exposing the *institutions* of his country to the risk of utter wreck and ruin.

When Conservatives are obliged to refer solely and directly to religion, their professions are even more unsatisfactory. They ransack the language in quest of generals; they dive into the human mind in search of the unmeaning, as a poet does for the sublime and beautiful; they shun a plain categorical statement on any real subject, as they would a gin or a mantrap. If a term seem to include the truth, they care not if it also include error. They think they have done ample justice to the Church if she cannot confute or contradict them. "One of the principles of Conservatism," says one writer, "is a conviction that there is a *right* and a *wrong* in religion; and that these points are so far from being foreign to the office of the legislator or statesman, that they ought on the contrary to be, if not always on the lips, yet certainly ever on the mind, &c." Most incontrovertible! As if we should say to a benighted traveller, "Go straight on till you find yourself at the skirts of the bog; there you will find several paths; some of them will lead you safe enough to your journey's end, some into ditches and bogholes; bear that fact continually in your mind; but as I wont take upon myself to say which is which, you must settle that point for yourself." The author of "Church and King" dwells more on the ethical qualities

of Conservatism than in its actual line of policy. This was of course to be expected from a humble convert to the Church, disposed to identify with it the most forward and numerous party in its communion. He treats that body with profound respect, and scarcely ventures to penetrate into the awful depth of their policy, which for our part we fear is superficial enough. "The true Conservative is one who, faithful to God and his country, seeks to do his duty in that state of life in which it has pleased God to call him." "Conservative principles, in short, comprehend every duty to our neighbour, our country and our king, all with reference to God as our Supreme Ruler and Judge." Such are the wholesome generalities in which sometimes, after a vain attempt to give consistency, precision of aim, and dignity, to their actual line of conduct, he loves to expatiate.

Our Conservative statesmen cannot disguise that they are afraid of the Church. They fear her unseen strength, the mysteriousness of her path, and her law of suffering. They read her history in the blood of martyrs and the calamities of nations. They dread the superhuman agencies that seem to stir her, as a child does the majestic movements of the arms and wheels of some mighty engine. Men absorbed in temporal arrangements find, or fancy themselves, the masters of all the materials whereof human institutions consist. By a certain distribution of men, money, &c. they can reasonably calculate on certain effects. The statesman thinks the world but clay in his hands, and himself the potter. In the Church he feels his position at once reversed; instead of mastery he finds service; instead of human expedients and resources, the power of a Divine presence; instead of a question of mundane politics, the interests of eternity. He shrinks from this unsought collision with influences really living, supernatural, and neither to be controlled nor accounted for. He feels as a man traversing the windings of a cavern, who suddenly hears about him the rushing fall of waters; like the chemist who finds some unknown irresistible power of nature intruding uninvited into his laboratory, bursting his jars, fusing his metals, and threatening to play the chemist with the astonished experimentalist himself. The wretched man who in the woods of Java sat down as he thought on the trunk of a tree, and dropped down dead when he found it a moving thing—a boa-constrictor—could not be more horror-struck than would be some of the Conservative statesmen now resting securely on the establishment, if it suddenly showed itself to the Church. The Witch of Endor could not be more aghast when she saw a true messenger from other worlds rising up amidst her phantasmagoria, or the petty mimeries of her witchcraft.

Let it be granted that during the last century the Church ceased to be striving, to be awful, to stand on her own ground as a heavenly kingdom, still there remained a certain remembrance of her awfulness, and men stood in fear of her. The *name* remained, and that was a name of might. Therefore although her enemies desired to bind her and overthrow her they could not. There seemed no earthly power sufficient to hinder them, but "they went backward, and fell to the ground." We know that throughout the whole of the last century there was no lack of disposition to ruin her, nor wanted there bold and ingenious projectors; yet they stretched forth no hands against her. The more men shall say to show the worldly unspiritual condition into which the Church was sunk during that period, the more do they unwittingly prove the hidden might which alone repelled her adversaries. If it could be shown, as many wish to show, that she possessed not one apparent excellence, not one human recommendation during the period referred to, it only proves by the argument of exhaustion that she stood *Dei gratiâ*. Therefore it is that our enemies wish us to unlearn the name of Church, and would gladly teach us to call it Establishment. It is a passive name; it is something established, and that by man; it is a more tractable thing than the Church, which they think has haunted the State too long, and which they would rejoice to see exorcised. An establishment may be classed with any other department—with our naval and military establishments. When that is allowed, a "minister of religion" may without any startling indecency sit at the council board, and produce his portfolio of religious returns, statistics, and projects; and may without very manifest irreverence issue general orders to his sub-commissioners, the superintendents of the dioceses, or whatever new fangled name they may choose to give to a bishop's jurisdiction. Our enemies are well aware there is no danger of an establishment bewitching the minds of men: it has none of that "transcendentalism" which Dr. Chalmers abominates; it will never afford a dangerous rallying point to men's affections; there is none of the *quæ si unquam oculis cerneretur* in it; men know what there is in it as well as they do the contents of a grocer's shop. If numbers, general acceptableness, and a respectable amount of consistency in the members of the system, constitute success, it bids fair to be a more successful machine than the Church, as far as immediate results are concerned. If a good coat and clean linen constituted the heroic character, heroes would be greatly multiplied; and if establishmentism were Christianity, the country might with a little forcing soon be filled with good Christians.

ART. IV.—1. *Temples, Ancient and Modern, or Notes on Church Architecture.* By William Bardwell, Architect. 8vo. London. 1837.

2. *A Glossary of Terms used in Grecian, Roman, Italian and Gothic Architecture.* The Second Edition enlarged, exemplified by 400 Wood Cuts. 8vo. London, C. Tilt; Oxford, J. H. Parker; Leicester, T. Combe & Co. 1838.

3. *A Rationale or Practical Exposition of the Book of Common Prayer.* By the Right Rev. Father in God, Anthony Sparrow, D.D. late Lord Bishop of Norwich. New Edition. Oxford. 1839.

IN no age perhaps since the twelfth century has a greater solicitude been evinced in the erection and endowment of new churches in this country than in the present. Nor have we any reason to believe that it is likely to subside. On the contrary, the indications around us are evident signs that it is increasing, and we trust and doubt not that it will continue till a dense population has been sufficiently supplied, which it is at present in many parts very imperfectly, with the means of attending on the ordinances of worship. Independent also of entire new structures, much increase of accommodation has of late years been effected by a new arrangement and re-construction of the pews and seats in many of our old churches. At the same time it must be confessed, that in these modifications much of their ancient character has been lost. In too many instances an addition to the number of sittings has been the one engrossing object kept in view, and mere convenience or even caprice have been indulged to the disregard of propriety and gravity in the arrangement, and of the rules and usages peculiar to the Anglican Church. The public, however, is getting alive to this error, and we may hope to see it gradually rectified. It has arisen, we conceive, in a very considerable degree from simple ignorance of the subject, or from that disparagement of it which is the result of ignorance. It is indeed remarkable that notwithstanding the numerous tomes, illustrative of ecclesiastical architecture, which have issued from the press in the last half century, and in which the architectonic features of our ancient churches have been developed in every form, the principles of their construction explained, and the variations of the different styles defined, yet so little attention has been paid towards an elucidation of the *order* in which the internal arrangement and disposition of our churches ought to be planned in conformity with ancient usage, that a work on the subject both previous as

well as subsequent to the changes of the sixteenth century, is yet a desideratum.

It is in the absence of such, that we gladly notice works, which though not professedly and entirely confined to, have a bearing on this subject, such as those with which we have headed this article, one of them being a very opportune reprint, as yet in the press, of a well-known and valuable work, Bishop Sparrow's *Rationale of the Book of Common Prayer*, in which "the beauty and harmony of the public offices of our Church and their conformity with the primitive faith and worship are accurately and perspicuously demonstrated."

We would, however, first examine the sources whence information on this subject may be culled, and these are scattered and discursive. The curious little volume by Davies, of Kidwelly, first published in 1672, on the ancient rites and monuments of the monastical and cathedral church of Durham as it appeared just before the Suppression, contains perhaps the fullest and most faithful description we have of a large conventual church in its ancient state, viewed entirely with reference to the religious ceremonies then observed, for the architectonic features of the structure itself are unnoticed. Staveley's *History of Churches in England*, which appeared in 1712, chiefly treats of the furniture and appendages anciently belonging to them; whilst Fosbrooke's *British Monachism* is replete with information explanatory of certain appendages still retained in many churches formerly attached to conventual foundations, and which are easily distinguished as such from the mere parochial churches by the arrangements of the stalls in the choir. The glosses of Lyndwood on the provincial constitutions, the manuscript pontificals and missals, chiefly preserved in our public libraries, (those in particular of the Sarum use,) for in the printed editions we do not meet with the full rubrical directions, are formularies which require to be referred to. From a perusal of the volumes of the *Monasticon* we may also glean somewhat, though not so much as we might have expected, our sources of reference being here nearly confined to the inventories of church plate, furniture and goods belonging to different religious houses at the Suppression. Of these it contains several. The works published abroad which give a still greater insight into the rites and religious customs of the middle ages are numerous, we need here only advert to a few well known in this country. At the head of these stands the *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, of Durandus. This, with the *Thesaurus Sacrorum Rituum* of Gavantus; Martene *De Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus*; Durantus *De Ritibus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*; the anti-Romanist work, Hospinianus *De Templis*, &c.; and the Glossary of Du

Cange, not to mention other works, will give a very competent knowledge of the subject under review, so far as relates to the appearance of our churches prior to the sixteenth century. Up to that period we may trace a certain *methodical arrangement* in the interiors of churches, not that all were adorned alike or in an equal degree of splendour, not that they presented in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the same rich display in furniture, tabernacle work and ornament which they did in the fifteenth century, as existing remains evince; not but that in some churches appendages were wanting, the pulpit and pew work for instance, which we find in others, but which we rarely meet with even in any before the fifteenth century; but that every thing was fitly disposed in accordance with ascertained *rules*, which do not appear to have deviated from, all being in due subordination to the ritual observances then followed. From the suppression of the monasteries and charity chapels, we may fix the commencement of the alteration in the internal appearance of our churches. This change during the sixteenth century was gradual in operation, and with the exception of the destruction of such of the conventual churches as were not then converted to parochial purposes, was generally effected without violence and under due superintendence. In the acts of spoliation which took place in the seventeenth century, when—

“dark fanaticism rent
Altar, and screen, and ornament,”

we see the results of that unhappy spirit of opposition to church government which had long laboured to overthrow all externals connected with the public worship of the church. Although during this period we have no unerring guide to point out in exact order the mode in which our churches in the reigns of Elizabeth, James and Charles the First, were inwardly adorned and fitted up, it must not be supposed that the arrangement was in each case considered as arbitrary or dependant merely on the will or caprice of individuals, and without regard to any *rule* of fitness or propriety. From a reference to the Ecclesiastical Canons, especially those relating to externals in divine worship, the various injunctions issued by the Bishops from the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., the attacks made on the formularies of the Anglican Church by the Puritans, and the defence of such usages by her divines, the expositions of her liturgical rites in the works, amongst others, of Nicholls and Wheatley, and last, not least in our estimation, in that of Bishop Sparrow, we can trace a plan of internal renovation observed in our churches in the reign of Edward VI., and from the beginning of that of Elizabeth to the troubles in 1643, and which in some is still retained.

To sketch the appearance of our churches in their pristine and ancient state, and to connect such with their present condition, is what we now propose to attempt.

The incidental notices preserved of the earliest constructed churches in this country are of a description too general to give us much insight as to the kind of structure used by the converted Britons to worship in. We collect, however, that the British Christians possessed edifices exclusively set apart as churches prior to the Dioclesian persecution; that they were then generally razed to the ground, and afterwards reconstructed; and allusion is made by St. Chrysostom to the churches and altars, which were in his time existing in the British islands. But of these primitive structures, or of any antecedent to the arrival of Augustine, we have now no apparent vestiges.

During the seventh and eighth centuries a number of monasteries and churches were erected in Britain, and we are able to trace the original foundation and endowment of many such by existing records, but these were almost all reduced to ruin by the Danes, who in their predatory incursions during the ninth and tenth centuries "everywhere," as the Saxon Chronicle informs us, "plundered and burnt as their custom is." Of these early structures, chiefly from those causes, we have not one remaining entire; the vestiges indeed of Anglo-Saxon architecture, even in detail, are altogether so few as to render the very study a matter difficult of acquisition; nor is much light thrown upon the subject by the illuminated manuscripts of that period. But from the portions still remaining of Saxon churches we collect that the general plan did not deviate from the plan of those built subsequently, though to the latter were annexed additional buildings for chantry and sepulchral chapels, none of which we find in the churches of the Anglo-Saxon era. The disposition of the bell tower at the west end, or between the chancel and nave, and the separation of the chancel from the nave by an arch was general, sometimes they had also lateral aisles, the plan of the Roman Basilica being kept in view. But we in vain attempt to carry our investigations to actual remains of ecclesiastical structures of higher antiquity than the seventh century; for the church of St. Martin's at Canterbury is not the old Roman church which Bede speaks of as existing when Augustine came into Britain, and which it is still reputed to be by many, but is a structure of the thirteenth century, though it is probable that the materials of the original church were worked up in the masonry on its reconstruction, the walls being still composed in part of Roman bricks. Neither is the ruinous church standing within the precincts of the castle at Dover a Roman or British structure, although some

have asserted it is such. That it is of early Saxon antiquity we have little doubt, but it is devoid of that peculiarity of construction possessed by the so-called pharos or polygonal tower close by, which is really of Roman workmanship, though the outer casing of flint and stone is comparatively modern; and the utmost that can be said of the church is, that it is an Anglo-Saxon imitation of Roman work, we mean those portions of the original structure which can be traced amidst the repeated alterations which have been effected in successive ages.

But though we have never met with any ecclesiastical structure of the Anglo-Saxon era in so perfect a state as to afford actual evidence of the mode of internal decoration then observed, the Saxon writers clearly intimate that they were embellished according to the then prevailing taste. The church of Hexham, founded by Wilfred towards the close of the seventh century, is described as having been ornamented with bas-reliefs and paintings; and the walls of the church of Monkwearmouth, founded at nearly the same period, are stated to have been covered with imagery, representing the beasts in the vision of the apocalypse, the virgin, apostles, and saints. Nor was the practice of internal decoration, which we may trace to the early use of embellishing the walls of the churches at Rome with figures in painting and mosaic work, considered as a matter of choice, since by the synod of Calcuith, held A. D. 816, every bishop on dedicating a church was required to see that on the wall of the church, or on a tablet to be suspended in the church, there should be painted a representation of the saint to whom the church was dedicated. And so much even in the seventh century did the founders of the principal churches in this island devote their attention to ornamental detail, however rude, that they employed continental artists and workmen to superintend, build, and adorn such churches for them, the natives, amidst the many Roman structures and remains of sculpture with which this country must then have abounded, being equally unskilled in the principles of constructive masonry and decorative art. The mode of manufacturing glass for glazing the windows of churches was at this period introduced into this country by Biscopius. This was an art which appears, like many others, to have been lost after the abandonment of this country by the Romans, for that they were well acquainted with it is evident, not only from the numerous vases of that material found with their sepulchral deposits, but also from fragments of flat window glass of a greenish hue found on the sites of villas and other places they formerly occupied, with other relics of Roman manufacture. But with respect to articles of a moveable kind we find that Augustine provided for those

churches under his control, altar furniture and vessels for the celebration of the Eucharistic rite, and also vestments for the officiating clergy, the latter being of the same description, though of a fashion somewhat varying, as those in use down to the change in the sixteenth century. These were sent to him by Gregory the Great from Rome, which pontiff likewise furnished him with ornaments, though of what precise nature we are ignorant, wherewith to embellish his churches. Amongst gifts made to Saxon churches we find enumerated, altar coverings, chalices, and patens both of gold and of silver gilt, thuribles, candlesticks, crosses, and bells. In the illuminated Saxon manuscripts the altar is represented covered with a cloth or veil, and with a plain cross upon it.

The actual remnants of some Saxon vestments, not of later workmanship certainly than the tenth century, of an ancient stole, a maniple and other robes, embroidered with figures and foliage, and not long ago discovered, when the remains of St. Cuthbert were exhumed at Durham, convey a clear idea of the art of design then practised, the figures being draped after the manner of some of those represented in early mosaic work at Rome; a gold pectoral cross, a comb, and fragments of a portable silver altar, all of the Anglo-Saxon era, were also at the same time brought to light.

After the Norman invasion we become better practically acquainted from existing remains with the appearance churches then presented; the Norman style of architecture, at first heavy and plain in construction, underwent a gradual change, and towards the close of the 12th century we find it exhibiting in its principal features much of the comparative lightness of the style which prevailed in the succeeding century. Besides designing numerous ornamental mouldings, combinations of mere arbitrary forms, the Normans were fond to excess of small imagery in bas relief. In English sculpture these works are the firstlings of art, for we have lost the intermediate or connecting links, such as they were, between the sculptures of the Normans and those of former Roman designs, displayed on the altars of that people which have been discovered in Britain: with these bas reliefs the Normans ornamented the tympanums or semicircular lintels which occur in the heads of their portals; with such their fonts were covered, and not unfrequently the capitals of their piers and shafts. These sculptures, though rudely designed and executed in very low relief, are often elaborate, frequently of a symbolical, sometimes perhaps inexplicable meaning. We find scriptural facts, the signs of the zodiac, and legendary stories thus brought before our eyes, together with chimeras, griffins, and other ima-

ginary combinations, forms both monstrous and grotesque, into the meaning of which we do not pretend to dive. Over a doorway, Thurley Church, Bedfordshire, we have sculptured in relief the Temptation of our First Parents; and over a Norman portal at Elston Church, in the same county, we have the figure of our Saviour circumscribed by that mystical figure of an oval, or in this particular instance, rather of an egg-shaped form, the *vesica piscis*; and the sculptured figure of our Saviour over this and other Norman portals, represented in a particular attitude, that of sitting, with the right hand upraised in the act of benediction, was thus placed in allusion to the Divine saying in the Gospel, "I am the door, &c." But we nowhere see over Norman portals the figure of the Virgin Mary with the infant Christ, though in the fifteenth century such a sculptured representation over the entrance into our churches was very common. The figure of a fish, whence the form *vesica piscis* originated, was one of the most ancient of the Christian symbols, emblematically significant of the word $\chi\theta\upsilon\varsigma$, which contained the initial letters of the name and titles of our Saviour. The symbolic representation of a fish we find sculptured on some of the sarcophagi of the early Christians discovered in the catacombs at Rome; but the actual figure of the fish afterwards gave place to an oval-shaped compartment, pointed at both extremities, bearing the same mystical signification as the fish itself, and formed by two circles intersecting each other in the centre. This was the most common symbol used in the middle ages, and thus delineated it abounds in Anglo-Saxon illuminated manuscripts. It is of frequent occurrence in that splendid and elaborate work of Anglo-Saxon art, the illuminated Benedictional of St. Æthelwold, circumscribing the figure of our Lord, as represented at his baptism, at his appearance to St. Thomas, at his Ascension, and at the last Judgment; we perceive it also in the illuminations to the manuscript of Cædmon's metrical paraphrase, preserved in the Bodleian, and in another manuscript of the tenth century, in the Harleian collection, in which the figure of the Virgin at the assumption is thus surrounded. The curious piece of sculpture in the church of Sandford, near Oxford, of a much later age than the manuscripts referred to, is an elaborate representation of the assumption, in which this mystical form is clearly developed. The fish however still continued in some instances to be depicted: it is sculptured at Stoneleigh church, Warwickshire, on the lintel of a round-headed doorway of the twelfth century; and in some recent excavations at Droitwich ancient encaustic church tiles of the thirteenth century were found, on which appeared the figure of a fish, inclosed within this oval form. Every where we meet with it during the middle ages, in

religious sculptures, in painted glass, on encaustic tiles, and on seals, and in the latter, that is in those of many of the Ecclesiastical Courts, the form is yet retained. Even with respect to the origin of the pointed arch, that *veraxa quæstio* of antiquaries, with what degree of probability may it not be attributed to this mystical form? it is indeed in this symbolical figure that we see the outline of the pointed arch plainly developed at least a century and half before the appearance of it in architectonic form. And in that age full of mystical significations, the twelfth century, when every part of a church was symbolized, it appears nothing strange if this typical form should have had its weight towards originating and determining the adoption of the pointed arch.

The arrangement of a Norman church,—the term Norman we use in its relative sense as applicable to the architecture of the eleventh and twelfth centuries,—was simple, compared to the manner in which those subsequently built were furnished. This was the era of the original foundation of most of the monastic institutions and churches, not so much of minor additions; we consequently find no detached chantry chapels of this age, annexed indeed to, but forming no part of the plan of the original structure. The body of the church appears to have contained originally, with the exception of the font, of which there are numerous fine specimens, no other furniture than a stone bench raised against the wall, and very often not even that. In the chancel a greater display was exhibited, arcades or rows of arches frequently graced the sides, and beneath these we sometimes meet with stone benches, similar to those which surround the interiors of the chapter houses of our cathedrals. We have seldom met with the triple sedilia or stone seats for the officiating priest, deacon, and subdeacon, disposed in the wall on the south of the altar of earlier date than the 13th century; Norman piscinae, or the water drains, appendages to the altar, are equally as rare, and Norman stoups even more so; the latter as fixtures at the entrance, either internally or externally, were never general, a moveable vessel or bason of metal being in most cases used for the consecrated water placed at the church door. We do not find any vestiges of Ambries, or Holy Sepulchres for the rites at Easter, or of pulpits of the Norman era. Wooden screen work of so early a date we can hardly expect to meet with; and though we know that lattice work was used as a division between the chancel and nave so early as the fourth century, and thus the name of the former was derived, we are inclined to think that in this country up to the thirteenth century, and in most instances even to a much later period, a veil or curtain extending across the chancel arch served for the division.

We first notice in the thirteenth century the very general intro-

duction into the English Churches of the piscina, the sedilia or seats in the south wall of the chancel near the altar, and the arch in the north wall of the chancel, under which the "Holy Sepulchre," generally a moveable structure of wood, was set up at Easter. Almost all of these appendages, and they are very numerous, especially the piscinae, of which there were often several in a church, one or two being attached to every altar, are of the thirteenth or two following centuries. We perceive likewise the gradual introduction in this age of screen work between the nave and chancel, some few traces of which are yet to be met with; there are also some remains of fresco wall paintings of this era, in which the assassination of Archbishop Becket was a favourite subject; an early representation of his death occurs on the wall of Preston church, Sussex. Though we have perhaps no existing remains of seats of this period, other than those of stone in the chancel, our churches were not entirely devoid of them, as appears by a Synod held at Exeter, A.D. 1287, in which they are noticed on account of some disputes which had taken place respecting them. The fonts of this age are distinguished by the architectonic features they bear, and are not covered as in a former age with sculpture in bas relief.

The contrast the designs of the fourteenth century, in which the flowing line predominated, present when compared with those by which they were preceded and followed, are fully exemplified in the internal decorations of our parochial churches. We have some remains, not many, of decorated screen work, both of stone and wood, of this period. In other appendages, in the general outline as well as in detail, we find elegance of contour combined with a due degree of richness, and, without being overloaded with ornament, our churches of this era present, not the most gorgeous, but the most chaste display in architectural composition of which they were capable.

Though we have not met with any coeval specimen of the eagle desk, it is to this era we would assign its first appearance in our churches. We find it delineated in the Louterell Psalter, a beautiful illuminated manuscript, written in the early part of this century, the eagle being there represented as supported on a slender and cylindrical shaft, banded round half way down by an annulated moulding. We have not however met with any pulpit we could clearly define as of this age, that at Lutterworth, called Wickliffe's, being as we conjecture, from the style of panel work with which the sides are covered, of a date much later than his time. Neither have we come across any rood lofts or pewing of this age, and we conceive that as yet such at least were not very common. The stalls in the choir of Winchester cathedral are

both the earliest and most elegant canopied seats of carved wood work, we do not say the richest in point of minute ornament, we have ever seen. This century was in truth the Phidian age of ancient ecclesiastical art.

But to view our churches in their former state, fitted up with every appendage that could be devised for convenience or ornament, we must examine them as they appeared in the fifteenth century. The beautiful flowing contour which characterizes in a great degree the results of the architectonic taste which prevailed in the fourteenth century had now given place to a style meretricious in the extreme, in which vertical lines, angular edged mouldings, and an infinite repetition of minute enrichments predominated.

The fifteenth century was in fact the gorgeous era of church architecture; and the decorative remains which still exist, after having passed through the ruinous ordeal of two convulsions, the one in the sixteenth the other in the seventeenth century, are sufficient when carefully investigated and compared to satisfy us with regard to the internal features which churches at this time presented.

The numerous large porches of this era with groined roofs were constructed with a view to the partial performance of the rites of baptism and marriage, both of which were commenced "*ante ostium ecclesiæ*," and concluded in the church.

The font for the convenience of baptism was fitly disposed in the western part of the church, near the north or south porch. This position it has generally retained, but it has been of late years sometimes removed to another site, and we have even found it placed most inappropriately in the midst of the chancel, close to the altar rails.

The main body of the church was now often fitted up more or less with open seats with low backs, and embellished with carved panel work at the extremities. Pew work of this description became a common though not a general appendage to churches during this century, and in 1458 we meet with more than one testamentary bequest of money to the fabric of a church "to make seats called *puying*." The most complete specimen of a church retaining the whole of its ancient pew work, which has fallen under our notice, is that at Finedon in Northamptonshire; the church, erected in the style of the fourteenth century, is a large parochial structure, consisting of a tower, nave, side aisles, transepts and chancel, and the nave, side aisles and transepts are filled with open seats or pewing, ornamented at the ends with carving in the style of the fifteenth century. These seats are disposed in four distinct rows, two in the nave and one in each aisle, all of which

front the east. The chancel was renovated in the early part of the eighteenth century after the Roman or Palladian mode then prevalent, so that in this part of the church the ancient internal features are entirely lost.

The spaces at the east ends of the north and south aisles of a church were generally fitted up as chantry chapels, and often inclosed round by screen work; additional aisles and chapels, sometimes forming transepts, were now frequently annexed to a church, for it was in this and the preceding age that such chapels were mostly endowed. These were often decorated more richly than any other portion of a church, and though the altars have been destroyed, the piscina or waterdrain, in the south wall close by, has almost invariably been left. In one instance, in the church of Bengeworth, in Worcestershire, we have met with the small chantry altar, with its attendant piscina, in a perfect state. Screen work, elaborately executed, separated the nave from the chancel; and a conventual church was distinguished by the stalls at the west end and sides of the choir. The ceiling, whether of groined stone or of wood, was painted frequently of an azure colour, with gilt stars interspersed here and there, sometimes in imitation of clouds, but most generally of a regular pattern, in square compartments formed by intersecting ribs or mouldings. The timber roofs of this, much more than of any earlier period, are exceeding rich and numerous; such vestiges of paintings on them as we now discern are faded and half obliterated.

The cathedrals and conventual churches endowed with large revenues were erected on a more magnificent scale than the mere parochial churches, and decorated in a more costly manner. The Reredos or screen at the back of the high altar was covered, in many instances, with a mass of rich tabernacle work, and we find even private chantry altars sometimes thus adorned, and a space eastward of the choir was in conventual churches generally dedicated as the principal chapel therein to the Virgin.

On either side of the altar curtains were, in many instances, suspended from rods of iron projecting from the wall. The high altar was sumptuously garnished, the plate pertaining to such principally consisted of a pix for the Host, costly specimens of which, of this era, are still retained amongst the college plate of Corpus Christi and New College, Oxford; a chalice, some fine ancient specimens of which are still preserved in many of the colleges at Oxford; cruets for the wine and water, preparatory to their admixture; censers, and ships, (vessels so called, to hold frankincense); a pair of candlesticks, for the placing of more than two lights on an altar seems never to have been practised in the English churches; a vessel for holy water; a sacring bell to ring

at the *tersanctus* and elevation of the Host; a basin used when the priest washed his hands; a pax table for the giving of the kiss, and a cross or crucifix.

We have not met with any ancient monstrance in which the Host was exhibited to the people, though the name frequently occurs in inventories of church plate. From a passage in Bishop Jewell's "*Defence of the Apology*," &c. we should infer that the pix and monstrance were at this period the same, though subsequently, being used by the Romanists for two different purposes, a distinction was made between them.

The arches, piers, and walls of the churches were covered with fresco paintings, some portions of which were merely drawn in patterns, other parts with figures, executed indeed in a rude manner, and designed without any regard to propriety of costume, locality, or feeling, except that which accorded with the common conceived notions of the age. The last Judgment was a frequent subject; St. George combating the Dragon, we find represented in sculpture and painting at all periods, from the eleventh to the sixteenth century; the murder of Archbishop Becket delineated in this manner was of frequent occurrence, and numerous other subjects from the Legends of the Saints were also thus treated. Traces of these paintings, which were washed over and defaced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, are occasionally brought to light in modern reparations, but in general only to be the more effectually destroyed, as those for instance which covered the walls of the chapel of the Holy Trinity at Stratford upon Avon, accurate coloured engravings of which have been published. A painting of the last Judgment is yet preserved in a perfect state on the wall in the church of the Holy Trinity at Coventry, and in Winchester cathedral are many such remains, though in a half obliterated condition. The rood-loft and screen beneath were also elaborately painted and gilt.

We find a difficulty in ascertaining the precise era when the introduction of the rood with the figures of the Virgin and St. John, took place in the English churches, especially as we are not aware of any rood-loft, amongst those yet remaining, (and there are several very fine specimens of such,) of an earlier date than the fifteenth century, where they appear, of one description or another, to have been a common and indispensable appendage. The large stone crucifix or rood built up in the outside wall of the south transept of Romsey church, Hants, is one of the earliest we have met with, being apparently a sculpture of the twelfth century. It seems to have always occupied the same position, and is placed fronting the west, close to a rich Norman door, formerly the entrance from the cloisters into the church. This is,

however, without the accompanying figures of the Virgin and St. John, though such figures are delineated standing, one on each side the crucifix, in an illuminated manuscript of the tenth century in the Cottonian collection. By a constitution of Archbishop Winchelsea, about the year 1300, certain images were required to be placed in the body of each church, and the principal image, *imaginem principalem*, in the chancel. The latter is explained by Lyndwood to represent the Saint in honour of whom the church was dedicated, the former to be those of our Saviour extended on the Cross, and of other Saints; and this writer digresses into the question of the relative worship given to such images, and the distinctions between *Dulia* and *Latria*. We have met with more than one ancient bas relief in which the crucifix with St. Mary and St. John standing at the foot of it are sculptured. These images faced the west that they might be observed of all on entering the church: and another reason assigned by Durantus was that proceeding from the traditional belief that the position of our Saviour whilst suspended on the Cross was facing the west. Of the rood-lofts, in front of which these images were placed, some extended along the whole width both of the nave and aisles projecting in front, and supported by diverging ribs forming a kind of groined cove, of which description that remaining in the church of Long Sutton, Somersetshire, is a very rich and perfect example. Smaller rood-lofts extended merely across the chancel arch and over the screen, and were only used for the purpose of setting up the rood with the usual accompanying images. Wormleighton church, Warwickshire, contains a loft of this kind. The entrance to this gallery in large churches was up a spiral staircase, often contained in a turret attached to the north or south aisle, and sometimes in the wall on one side the chancel arch. The organ-lofts in our cathedrals were formerly the rood-lofts, and are placed over the entrance into the choir. We have reason to believe that in many small churches there was no rood-loft or gallery of that kind, but that the rood and other images were affixed to a mere beam extending across the chancel arch, in the manner described by an engraving, in Dibden's *Tour through France and Germany*, of the interior of the church of St. James at Nuremberg, as it appeared in 1760. In this a plain horizontal beam is delineated, as set across the chancel at a considerable height from the ground, and affixed to it appears the image of our Saviour on the Cross, with images of the Virgin Mary and St. John. The richly carved beam which extends across the chancel of Little Malvern church, Worcester-shire, was probably intended for a like purpose. A sculptured representation of the Virgin was in this century of frequent oc-

currence over the entrance into the church, being placed within a canopied niche outside the porch or over the door. Some effigies thus placed are still in nearly a perfect state, as that on the west side of the tower of Cerne Abbas church, Dorsetshire. To some particular images we find peculiar honour was paid; sums were bequeathed to furnish lights to burn before them, and pilgrimages and vows were made to them. Those of the Virgin, thus noted, were in the highest repute and very numerous. Amongst others are noticed images of our Lady of Pity, our Lady of Grace, our Lady of Walsingham, our Lady of Ipswich, our Lady of Wilsdon, &c. One of these, formerly in Durham cathedral, is described by Davies as

“ a marvellous lively and beautiful image of the picture of our Lady, so called the Lady of Bolton; which picture was made to open, with gimmes from her breast downward; and within the said image was wrought and pictur'd the image of our Saviour marvellous finely gilt, holding up his hands, and holding betwixt his hands a large fair Crucifix of Christ, all of gold: the which Crucifix was to be taken forth every Good Fryday, and every man did creep unto it that was in the church at that time, and afterwards it was hung up again within the said image; and every principal day the said image was opened, that every man might see pictur'd within her the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, most curiously and finely gilt; and both the sides within her very finely varnished with green varnish and flowers of gold, which was a goodly sight for all the beholders thereof.”

There are yet many particulars we have omitted to notice connected with the appearance of our churches in their ancient state; for our object has been to give a sketch only of the most prominent and marked features they possessed. Much there was which sober piety cannot sanction; but let us not forget what was holy and religious on account of incidental corruptions. Could we revert to the pristine splendour of our churches, and view them through the vista of time, caused by the lapse of three centuries, on all sides we should see sculpture and painting, altars adorned with rich hangings, and covered with plate and ornaments. We should behold shrines and reliquaries of elaborate workmanship, some large and immoveable, as the remains of that of St. Frideswide at Oxford; others small and portable, so as to be carried in processions, as that still preserved in the church of Shipley, Sussex. We should view the splendid chantry chapels in their original state, ere they had suffered from the hand of violence. With a degree of interest we should regard the monuments and sepulchres of the dead, as yet not defaced or disfigured, the sides covered with architectural and sculptured details, the tables supporting recumbent effigies, and the whole design painted to correspond in tone with the objects around it. Over the tomb of

the noble or knight would be affixed the crested helmet, sword, gauntlets, spurs, and coat armour; whilst banners, banner-rolls, and pennons, and all the paraphernalia of heraldic pomp would hang suspended from aloft. We should tread on a pavement of Mosaic work inlaid with encaustic tiles and covered in part with sepulchral brasses: every thing, in short, would appear in perfect harmony and keeping, and the whole effect would be heightened by the windows filled with painted glass, casting their mellow light on all sides.

This is but an illusion, and we are left, in fact, the wreck only of the visionary scene, once real, which we have described: and even this is ever losing somewhat of the remains of its ancient character, by the destructive and constantly recurring waves of needless innovation.

But we would now trace the changes which have been effected in church ornaments, and show why, and when, and how they were occasioned.

The first alterations of this kind appear between the years 1535 and 1540, when such images as had been resorted to by way of pilgrimage were ordered to be deposed, but the other images were suffered to remain; although worship in any degree was expressly forbidden to be paid to them. In the Primer of 1535, the first of the three Primers which appeared in the reign of Henry the Eighth, occurs the omission, in the decalogue there expounded, of the second commandment, against image worship and idolatry, and the division of the tenth commandment into two; but in the second of these Primers, set forth by Episcopal authority in 1539, the whole of the second commandment is given. By divers injunctions, provincial and diocesan, published at the same period, pilgrimages, kissing of images, and offering of candles, were condemned as repugnant to Scripture; but lights were still allowed to be retained in the rood-loft, and before the Host, and at the Sepulchre at Easter. A Bible was now required to be chained to a desk in some open place in the church, and a book containing the Paternoster, Ave-Maria, Creed, and Decalogue, in English, was ordered to be set upon a table in the church for such as chose to read. Hence the introduction of that piece of furniture a desk, with divinity books chained to it, which we still occasionally meet with in churches. The chantries being at this period suppressed, the altars used for private masses were despoiled of their furniture, ornaments, and plate, which were delivered to the crown, as were also the treasures contained in the reliquaries and shrines, many of which were now destroyed. The images and pictures of Archbishop Becket, which were very numerous, were especially enjoined by a royal proclamation to be

removed out of all the churches. These constituted nearly all the visible changes effected during this reign in the mere parochial churches. The chantry altars, though divested of furniture and in a manner forsaken, were left standing; the rood-lofts were untouched, the chancels exhibited nearly the same internal display as before; for in the Sacramentals and principal rites and ceremonies little alteration had as yet been made. The conventual churches underwent a different fate, many being stripped of every valuable material, even to the lead which externally covered the roof.

Early, however, in the reign of Edward the Sixth, on the change in the ritual, many appendages were discarded, whilst others underwent alteration. In the order of the Communion set forth by royal authority in 1547, as a temporary measure only until other order should be provided, the first Book of Common Prayer being then in contemplation, the term '*Altar*' alone is made use of. In the first Book of the Common Prayer of King Edward the Sixth, the Altar or Communion Table is indifferently called the '*Altar*,' '*Holy Table*,' '*God's Board*.' But before the alterations in this Liturgy, neither slight nor unimportant as to certain doctrinal points, and in effecting which the influence of the foreign reformers had a perceptible sway, were published, it appears that both the material substance of which the altar was constructed and the term itself were considered by some as objectionable; and in 1550 it was deemed advisable, from the superstitious notions which were said to be still entertained by many respecting the altar, that reasons should be published why the Lord's board should be rather after the form of a table than an altar. In many churches, therefore, the stone altars were now taken down, and moveable tables of wood were substituted in their stead. There appears, however, to have been no express injunction for this change; yet thus it was, that in the second Book of Common Prayer set forth in 1552, the word '*Altar*,' as denoting the Communion Table, was purposely omitted; but in the following reign, as we find observed by Bishop Jewel, in his controversy with Harding, such tables of wood as had been set up were taken asunder, and the stone altars were again replaced.

But as to other changes at this time effected:—By the royal injunctions issued in 1547, candles and tapers were no longer permitted to be set before any image or picture, "but only two lights upon the high altar before the sacrament which, for the signification that Christ is the very true light of the world, they (the clergy) shall suffer to remain still;" and orders were given that such images as had been abused with pilgrimages should be removed; and as to the other images in the churches, which

were suffered to stand, the parishioners were to be admonished that they served for no other purpose than to be a remembrance. All shrines, tables, candlesticks, pictures, paintings, and monuments of feigned miracles, idolatry, and superstition were likewise enjoined to be destroyed, so that no vestige of the same should remain on the walls or windows of the churches. With these injunctions however relative to the divesting the churches of many of their ornaments, and which were in several places only partially observed, other injunctions were promulgated, to which we trace the introduction at this epoch of appendages once common, though not so now,—the Litany stool and the poor box. The former originated from the Litany being required to be said or sung by the priests *kneeling in the midst of the church*, processions about the church having been abrogated. This we now seldom meet with. The latter, a strong chest with a hole in the upper part, having three keys, was enjoined to be provided and fastened near the high altar, to the intent the parishioners should put into it their oblations and alms for the poor. Many specimens of the poor box of the reigns of Elizabeth, James, and Charles, affixed to a shaft, are still to be found. The one in the church of the Holy Trinity, Coventry, has the shaft covered with that indescribable kind of arabesque ornament and scroll-work for which the reign of Elizabeth, and early part of that of James, was noted. Although pulpits had been set up in many churches during the fifteenth century, they had not been considered as actually requisite, and most churches were up to this time devoid of them, but now a positive order was given that a pulpit should be placed in every church “for the preaching of God’s word.”

How far these ordinances were actually complied with we have now perhaps no means of ascertaining, but the articles of visitation set forth by the bishops shortly afterwards contained inquiries whether they had been obeyed. On the removal of the images from the rood-loft the latter sustained little damage, there being no order authorising or allowing their destruction. The rood, with the images of St. Mary and St. John, having been in the reign of Mary replaced in the position they had formerly occupied in the church, were, early in the reign of Elizabeth, with other monuments of idolatry and superstition, enjoined to be utterly destroyed; and in the homilies drawn up against peril of idolatry, the origin and rise of image worship was succinctly traced and set forth.

Though no express allusion is made to the rood-lofts in the injunctions issued by Elizabeth, they appear generally, though not invariably, during her reign to have been taken down, and in the accounts of the churchwardens of St. Helen’s, Abingdon, for

the year 1561, we notice entries of payments made to the somner for bringing the order for removing the rood-loft, to the carpenter and others for taking it down and stopping the holes in the wall where the joists stood, and to a painter for writing the Scripture where the rood-loft stood. When the rood-lofts were thus generally demolished, the beautiful screens beneath them of tabernacle work elaborately designed and finished were left comparatively in an uninjured state. It had indeed been a very ancient practice, for the usage, we have said above, existed in the fourth century, to separate the eastern or altar part of the church from the nave or body by lattice-work. The changes effected by the Reformers of the Anglican Church in the sixteenth century neither extended nor were intended to extend either to injure or deface the interior aspect of our churches beyond what was rendered necessary by the destruction and obliteration of matters which had been or might again be perverted to superstitious purposes. If the work of demolition was at this period anywhere carried to unreasonable excess, which in some instances might have been the case, it proceeded rather from the untoward zeal of those employed, than from a strict compliance with the ordinances under which they acted, the object sought for by the Reformers of the Anglican Church being a return not only to the doctrines but as far as practicable to the usages also of the early Church, rejecting erroneous opinions and rites clearly superstitious, which in the lapse of ages had been gradually introduced. Whilst these works of innovation were in progress, an order was issued, that in every church there should be provided "a comely and honest pulpit;" and, because there were but few practised preachers, the clergy were enjoined to read in their churches every Sunday some one of the Homilies which had been prepared and composed with reference to the change both in doctrinal points and in Church discipline. But with respect to the altar or communion table, the Queen's injunctions issued in 1559 remark, that though the altars in many churches had been taken down and tables substituted in their stead, many altars still remained untouched, and these were ordered not to be removed except under proper supervision. For the substitution of a table was expressed to be rather for an uniformity of practice, since the change was otherwise considered as a matter of no great moment, so that the sacrament was duly and reverently ministered; thus reverting more to the opinions entertained by the compilers of the first book of the Common Prayer, who regarded the material fabric of the altar as a matter in itself indifferent, than to those which, as we must infer from a perusal of the second book of Common Prayer, were the sentiments of its revisers. The holy table was ordered

to be "decently made," and our churches contain many communion tables of this period with bulging pillar legs, some plain, others richly carved in the fantastic manner which then prevailed, unlike the style of any other period. Of the latter kind we have an interesting specimen at Sunningwell near Oxford, of which church Bishop Jewell was once pastor. The qualified injunction for taking down the stone altars in churches had even now however but a partial operation: they were far from being at this period universally destroyed; so many indeed were suffered to remain or left untouched, that we find nearly a century afterwards, viz. in 1643, the Puritan party having then gained the ascendancy in the House of Commons, ordinances of parliament passed for their total demolition. Towards the close of the sixteenth century we observe the first appearance of the hour-glass for the pulpit, as in 1591 the purchase was made of one for St. Helen's Church, Abingdon.

By the Canons published at the commencement of the reign of James I. it appears that the communion table at the time of divine service was to have a proper covering, and when the sacrament was about to be administered it was to be covered with a white linen cloth, but the position and place in which it stood was left to the discretion of the minister. The Decalogue was at the same time ordered to be painted on the east wall of the church, and on the other walls sentences of Scripture. In these Canons also is the first official allusion to the reading pew we have met with, for they enjoin that a convenient seat should be constructed for the minister in which he might recite the prayers. A pulpit was also to be provided for preaching, and a chest for the reception of alms. The Decalogue is still generally retained in our churches in the position thus assigned to it, but the practice of painting Scripture sentences on the walls appears only partially to have prevailed, or else they have been since generally obliterated, as we now meet with few churches the walls of which are so covered; and though a former injunction had been issued by Elizabeth respecting the erection of pulpits, we find comparatively few we can refer to her reign. Pulpits of the 15th century are not uncommon, but most of the old carved pulpits remaining in our churches are of the reign of Charles I. These are covered with the semicircular arched panelling and fantastic scroll-work peculiar to that period, and not a few bear the precise date of their construction. We also still occasionally meet with the ancient poor-box set on a wooden pillar, at this period a general article of church furniture, but we regret that from most churches it has since disappeared. We have many specimens of enclosed seats or pews of the early part of this century, which are

easily distinguished by the carved wood work of which they are constructed, and which corresponds in design with that we see in the ornamented pulpits of this period. We should have observed that in the reign of Elizabeth the churches were mostly fitted with ranges of open seats.

In the momentous contentions between the Church and the Puritan seceders which broke out in the reign of Charles I., were involved the many matters of Church discipline which had long been objected to by the latter. To explain the true meaning of these, which had been greatly misunderstood and misrepresented, was one of the projects entertained by the convocation or synod held in 1640. The Canons advert to the fact that

“ Many had been misled against the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, and had taken offence at the same, upon an unjust supposal that they were introductive unto Popish superstitions, whereas they were not only approved of but used by the learned and godly divines to whom, at the time of Reformation under King Edward VI., the compiling of the Book of Common Prayer had been committed, divers of whom had suffered martyrdom in Queen Mary’s days ; that they had been also duly and ordinarily practised by the whole Church during a great part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, so that it was not then imagined that there would need any rule or law for the observance of the same, or that they would be thought to savour of Popery. And that though since those times, for want of an express rule therein, and by subtil practices the said rites and ceremonies had begun to fall into disuse and in place thereof other foreign and unfitting usages by little and little to creep in, yet in the royal chapels and many other churches most of them had been ever constantly used and observed.”

Amongst the Canons thus enjoined we find one entitled “ A Declaration concerning some Rites and Ceremonies,” so expressive of the feelings entertained by the divines of the Anglican Church at the time they were about to encounter the powerful and for a while successful opposition, as it proved, of the Puritans, that we hesitate not to give it at length.

“ Because it is generally to be wished, that unity of faith were accompanied with uniformity of practice, in the outward worship and service of God ; chiefly for the avoiding of groundless suspicions of those who are weak, and the malicious aspersions of the professed enemies of our religion ; the one fearing innovations, the other flattering themselves with a vain hope of our backslidings unto their Popish superstition, by reason of the situation of the communion table, and the approaches thereunto, the synod declareth as followeth :

“ That the standing of the communion table sideway under the east-window of every chancel or chapel, is in its own nature indifferent, neither commanded nor condemned by the word of God, either expressly or by immediate deduction ; and therefore that no religion is to be

placed therein, or sculpture to be made thereon. And albeit at the time of reforming this Church from that gross superstition of Popery, it was carefully provided that all means should be used to root out of the minds of the people, both the inclination thereunto, and memory thereof; especially of the idolatry committed in the mass, for which cause all Popish altars were demolished: yet notwithstanding it was then ordered by the injunctions and advertisements of Queen Elizabeth of blessed memory, that the holy tables should stand in the place where the altars stood, and accordingly have been continued in the royal chapels of three famous and pious princes, and in most cathedral and some parochial churches, which doth sufficiently acquit the manner of placing the said tables from any illegality, or just suspicion of Popish superstition or innovation. And therefore we judge it fit and convenient, that all churches and chapels do conform themselves in this particular to the example of the cathedral and mother churches, saving always the general liberty left to the bishop by law, during the time of administration of the Holy Communion. And we declare that this situation of the holy table doth not imply that it is, or ought to be, esteemed a true and proper altar, whereon Christ is again really sacrificed: but it is, and may be called an altar by us, in that sense in which the primitive Church called it an altar, and in no other.

“ And because experience hath showed us, how irreverent the behaviour of many people is in many places, some leaning, others casting their hats, and some sitting upon, some standing, and others sitting under the communion table in time of divine service: for the avoiding of these and the like abuses, it is thought meet and convenient by this present synod, that the said communion tables in all churches or chapels be decently severed with rails to preserve them from such or worse profanations.

“ And because the administration of holy things is to be performed with all possible decency and reverence, therefore we judge it fit and convenient, according to the word of the Service Book established by act of parliament, *Draw near, &c.*, that all communicants with all humble reverence shall draw near and approach to the holy table, there to receive the divine mysteries, which have heretofore in some places been unfitly carried up and down by the minister, unless it shall be otherwise appointed in respect of the incapacity of the place, or other inconvenience, by the Bishop himself in his jurisdiction, and other Ordinaries respectively in theirs.

“ And, lastly, whereas the church is the house of God, dedicated to his holy worship, and therefore ought to remind us, both of the greatness and goodness of his Divine Majesty, certain it is that the acknowledgment thereof, not only inwardly in our hearts, but also outwardly with our bodies, must needs be pious in itself, profitable unto us, and edifying unto others; we therefore think it meet and behoveful, and heartily commend it to all good and well-affected people, members of this church, that they be ready to tender unto the Lord the said acknowledgment, by doing reverence and obeisance, both at their coming in and going out of the said churches, chancels or chapels, according to the most ancient

custom of the primitive church in the purest times, and of this church also for many years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

“The reviving, therefore, of this ancient and laudable custom we heartily commend to the serious consideration of all good people, not with any intention to exhibit any religious worship to the communion table, the east, or church, or any thing therein contained in so doing, or to perform the said gesture in the celebration of the holy Eucharist, upon any opinion of a corporal presence of the body of Jesus Christ on the holy table, or in the mystical elements, but only for the advancement of God's majesty, and to give him alone that honour and glory that is due unto him, and no otherwise; and in the practice or omission of this rite, we desire that the rule of charity prescribed by the Apostle may be observed, which is, that they which use this rite, despise not them who use it not; and that they who use it not, condemn not those that use it.”

And such an exposition of certain usages in the discipline of the Anglican Church was indeed wanted at this time, when no means were left untried by the Puritan party to accomplish their entire abolition. The Protestant seceders, who emigrated to New England in the early part of the seventeenth century, carried along with them the spirit of Puritanism in its sternest mood, and in erecting their places of worship they gave full scope to the exercise of their feelings, for, purposely avoiding in the arrangement or plan of their meeting-houses any semblance to the form of the old churches in the mother country, they would have no division of chancel and nave, and placed the communion table, together with the pulpit, on the long side of the building, and this was their beau ideal of a Christian temple.

But to return to the Convocation of 1640; this continued to sit after the dissolution of that parliament, during the holding of which it had been originally convoked, and, in consequence, though its canons were confirmed by the king's letters patent, the canons it enjoined were therefore not only argued against and treated by the succeeding parliament as invalid, but instructions were issued in the years 1643 and 1644 by the House of Commons, requiring the churchwardens of every parish to demolish or take away every altar or table of stone which might be still remaining, and to remove the communion table from the east end of the church and place the same in some convenient place in the body of the church, the altar rails were ordered, wherever they had been set up, to be taken down, the chancels to be levelled and the organs defaced; they were likewise to remove and take away all tapers, candlesticks and basons from the communion table, and to demolish all crucifixes and crosses, and all images and pictures of the Trinity and of the Virgin Mary, and of all angels or saints, whether within or upon the outside of the church.

At the Reformation all lights and tapers had been ordered to be removed out of the churches, with the exception of two lights

which were enjoined still to remain upon the high altar, besides these an offertory bason and cross were, at this time, sometimes placed upon the communion table: with these the Puritans were offended, and now, having the power, the work of destruction commenced. The altar rails which had been recently introduced into several churches round or in front of the communion table, were mostly broken down, and all crosses inside the church taken away or destroyed. In many instances also, those on the outside which, designed and sculptured in a variety of heraldic forms, had been affixed to the apices of the roof both of the chancel, nave and aisles; but the destruction on the exterior was but partial, since we still retain on our churches many of these beautiful crosses, nor was the destruction carried on in an equal degree in every church. In all somewhat was required to be done, inasmuch as the churchwardens had to render an account of their acts, but private feelings no doubt often swayed in the preservation of many ornamental accessories which in other churches were entirely swept away, yet while some churches were fortunate enough to escape with no more violence than friendly hands were enforced to use, others suffered in a tenfold degree from the fanatic zeal of the despoiler, and even the memorials of the dead were torn up under pretence that the common inscription of a former age, *orate pro animâ, &c.* was superstitious. By some of the parties employed in these acts of violence, journals were kept giving an exact account of their transactions. That indeed of William Dowsing, who, under a warrant from the Earl of Manchester, made a visitation for this purpose through the county of Suffolk in the years 1643 and 1644, records the mischief done to no less than 149 churches, the extent of which we may estimate from the following account from his own pen of some of his proceedings.

“*Barham.*—We brake down the twelve Apostles in the chancel and six superstitions more there; and eight in the church, one a lamb with a cross X on the back; and digged down the steps; and took up four superstitious inscriptions of brass, one of them, *Jesu, Fili Dei, miserere mei*, and *O mater Dei, memento mei*,—O mother of God, have mercy on me!

Dunstall.—We brake down sixty superstitious pictures; and broke in pieces the rails, and gave orders to pull down the steps.

Copdock.—I brake down 150 superstitious pictures, two of God the Father, and two crucifixes; did deface a cross on the font; and gave orders to take down a stoneing cross on the chancel, and to level the steps; and took up a brass inscription, with *ora pro nobis*, and *cujus animæ propitiatur Deus.*”

In the number of churches thus visited, there appears to have been but two or three which had rails set up before the commu-

nion table, and not a single stone altar is mentioned as then existing. The chief destruction appears to have fallen on the windows, which were every where filled with painted glass, all these were broken or ordered to be so; some few crucifixes and many crosses were taken down out of the churches, and not a few brass sepulchral inscriptions were removed. The steps in the chancel were ordered to be taken down, and the stone crosses on the exterior of the churches to be removed; but as the parliamentary visitor, after having demanded and received from the churchwardens his fee, seldom waited to see these demolished, and met with but little zealous co-operation from those entrusted by him with the work of destruction, his intentions seem to have been carried but partially into effect.

In a return made to the Earl of Manchester in 1643 of the proceedings taken, in compliance with the parliamentary ordinance, in thirty-nine churches in Cambridgeshire, we find but eleven enumerated as having altar rails, for in the distractions of the times they had as yet by no means been generally introduced. In this return however the reasons are stated for which some of the divines of the Anglican Church were ejected, these were, for bowing at the name of Jesus, for making a new communion table and placing it altarwise, for signing children with the sign of the cross, and for not taking the covenant.

We have occasionally met with altar rails of a date, as we could observe from the style, just prior to the civil wars, which have escaped the general havoc, but commonly they are found of a date subsequent to the Restoration, when a difference of fashion in their make is perceptible.

We should have remarked that before these violent proceedings, viz. in 1640, a committee consisting of certain bishops and other divines of different persuasions, had met to confer respecting all innovations of doctrine and discipline said to have been introduced into the Church, without law, since the Reformation. This meeting was held preparatory to these matters being discussed by the House of Lords, but the conference was broken up before any change had been agreed upon; yet amongst the innovations in discipline complained of, as such, by the Puritan party were the placing of candlesticks on altars, reading the Litany in the body of the church, and some part of the morning prayer at the altar, when there was no communion, and the turning of the minister to the east when he pronounced the Creed or read prayers, and the having also a *credentia* or side table, after the usage of the primitive Church, for the Lord's Supper, and one of the memoranda of the Puritans for reformations was, that the reading desk should be placed in the church. Such were the de-

cent and fitting practices of the Church which, under pretence of their being superstitious, the Puritans aimed at overthrowing.

In this they succeeded; then followed a suspension of the Liturgy, to which form they had long been opposed. As a kind of substitution the "Directory" was framed; but some of the rites and ceremonies of the Church, thus disused, were afterwards, when the Liturgy was restored, but partially revived. Since then precise attention has not been paid to that uniform system of outward ordinances in public worship which the rubric of the Liturgy and the canons of the Church direct; but with respect to the communion table, though a latitude is allowed by the rubric, which enjoins that it shall stand in the body of the church or in the chancel, it is now always placed altarwise at the east end of the chancel or choir, (no instance, at least, to the contrary has come under our observation,) and generally with rails before it. The custom of placing candlesticks on the altar is still retained in the royal chapels and in several of our cathedrals and college chapels, which have also the eagle desk, and some the litany stool; but we find these in few of our parochial churches, the practice having been disused during the Interregnum and not afterwards generally revived, though now becoming more so by degrees. We have also observed that latterly some of the old communion tables have been removed and their places supplied by tables of stone and marble.

Since the Restoration the practice of placing paintings, crosses, and even imagery in our churches has been contended for as unobjectionable by several divines, including Archbishop Tenison, Archbishop Wake, Bishop Stillingfleet, Bishop Barlow, and Dr. Hammond; who regarded that such might be used as monitors to set the minds of men at work, even where the worship of such was plainly forbidden, and by all understood to be prohibited.

"It is," says Archbishop Tenison, "high superstition in those who in our late unhappy Revolution defaced such pictures, and broke down such crosses as authority had suffered to remain entire, whilst it forbade the worship of them; and was in that particular so well obeyed, that none of them (it may be) ever knew one man of the communion of the Church of England to have been prostrate before a cross, and in that posture to have spoken to it."

Thus we meet in some churches with altar paintings portraying incidents in our Lord's Life and Passion, and sometimes, though rarely, with bas-reliefs or sculpture, as at St. Mary's Church, Warwick, where the Annunciation is represented in this manner.

Within the present century a multitude of new churches and

chapels have been built, yet in many districts they are even now in number inadequate to the wants of a constantly increasing population. An increase of church accommodation has also been found requisite in many of our ancient churches, the interiors of which have been entirely renovated and refitted for this purpose. In these new arrangements however we regret that too often much of the old ornamental work has been destroyed, which might well have been preserved, and, under the guise of improvement, the hand of destruction has been at work. It is indeed incredible how much of the ancient features of those churches have suffered, which have been recently newly pewed and beautified. We have seen screenwork swept away, and tombs removed, and these perhaps the memorials of the very individuals by whose munificence in bygone ages our churches were erected. Yet in other instances we have noticed with satisfaction the arrangement and disposition accord with the usages of the Anglican Church as observed from the Reformation to the commotions of the seventeenth century.

We must not conclude without adverting to the works, the titles of which we have placed at the head of this article, and first as to Mr. Bardwell's "*Temples, Ancient and Modern.*" In a chapter on interiors he remarks, alluding to the prevailing practice in some modern churches of constructing the reading desk like the pulpit—

"In the dispositions of our interiors, let us no longer vary, in the late unjustifiable manner, from the proper ecclesiastical arrangements. We have seen how much the practice of introducing two pulpits has been censured by the judicious friends of the Church, and how ridiculous that practice appears when there is only one clergyman to officiate; no necessity appearing for him to descend one pulpit merely to ascend a second. Again an organ and an organist over the altar must be considered an inexcusable violation of the decency of a sacred building. Let us study the choir of St. Paul's Cathedral, and we shall find the almost perfect model of the interior of a reformed church."

Mr. Bardwell concludes a chapter containing much valuable information as to the manner in which our churches, especially those about to be erected, ought to be arranged, with observing

"Much it is to be regretted that our Protestant predilections should continue to keep the cross—I do not mean the crucifix—from the altar. How inferior are the fittings up and arrangements of the altars of our churches,—how inadequate to assist the serious meditations which should engage the mind of the worshipper when he turns to this sacred part of the church.

"The cross was every thing among the first Christians. It was made the chief emblem of their faith; the chief mark of their community; their standard and their watchword. Its name was constantly on their

lips, its image on their bosoms ; they continually uttered its appellation and made its sign. To its sacred form were attributed intrinsic and peculiar powers to protect from evil those by whom it was worn or was merely traced in air ; and it was carefully imprinted alike on the habitations of the living and the receptacles of the dead."

In Bishop Sparrow's valuable work on the book of common prayer, we meet with an exposition of many of the usages of the Anglican Church, which will militate strongly against the practice, which, since the Restoration, has prevailed in some churches, (as for instance in the Temple Church, London,) of placing the pulpit with the reading desk before it, fronting the west, so that the minister during the whole of the service, except when he officiates at the communion table, which is in a great measure concealed from view by this unseemly arrangement, necessarily turns his back upon the altar. But as Bishop Sparrow observes:—

"This was the ancient custom of the Church of England, that the priest, who did officiate in all those parts of the service which were directed to the people, turned himself towards them ; as in the absolution. But in those parts of the office which were directed to God immediately, as prayers, hymns, lauds, confessions of faith or sins, he turned from the people ; and for that purpose in many parish churches of late, the reading pew had one desk for the Bible, looking towards the people to the body of the church, another for the prayer book looking towards the east or upper end of the chancel. And very reasonable was this usage ; for when the people was spoken to it was fit to look towards them, but when God was spoken to, it was fit to turn from the people."

And he then goes on to explain the custom of turning to the east in public prayer. The first edition of this work contains an engraving which represents the minister reciting the Litany, kneeling at the Litany stool fronting the altar, and leading the people in prayer. A fac simile of this engraving appears in Mr. Bardwell's work.

The Glossary of Architectural Terms, which lastly comes under our review, furnishes us in detail with a body of information on the peculiarities we meet with in our ancient churches, and the remarks are ably illustrated with numerous vignettes interspersed throughout the work, which, though without any author's name attached, bears the impress of patient investigation and research, and is well worthy the perusal of those, and they are not few, who take interest in studying the venerable remains of ecclesiastical antiquity.

Knowing that in these times any departure from a cold and abstract devotional feeling to one whereby the mind is sensibly moved, by a return to the practices of the Anglican Church as established at the Reformation, may be looked upon and censured

by some as proceeding from a superstitious spirit, and that even a more strict adherence to the rubric and canons of the Church than is commonly paid, has been and will be groundlessly ascribed to a vain formality, we would conclude by remarking, in the words of Bacon,—“There is a superstition in avoiding superstition when men think to do best if they go farthest from the superstition formerly received.”

- ART. V.—1. *Revival of Popery ; a Sermon preached before the University of Oxford, at St. Mary's, on Sunday, May 20, 1838.* By Godfrey Faussett, D.D., the Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity. Parker, Oxford.
2. *Letter to the Rev. G. Faussett, D.D., on certain Points of Faith and Practice.* By J. H. Newman, B.D., Fellow of Oriel College. Parker, Oxford.
3. *Strictures on some Parts of the Oxford Tracts ; a Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Ely.* By Rev. J. H. Brown, M.A., Archdeacon. Hatchard, London.
4. *A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Peculiar of Allerton and Allertonshire.* By G. Townsend, M.A., Vicar of Northallerton.
5. *The Present State of the Controversy between the Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches.* By Hunter Gordon, of Lincoln's Inn, Esq. Whittaker, London.
6. *A Call to Union on the Principles of the English Reformation ; a Sermon preached at the Primary Visitation of Charles Thomas, Lord Bishop of Ripon.* By W. F. Hook, D.D. Rivingtons, London.
7. *Dr. Hook's Call to Union, answered.* Fraser, London.
8. *Essays on the Church ; with some Observations on Existing Circumstances and Dangers.* By a Layman. New Edition. Seeley, London.
9. *Travels in Town.* By the Author of Random Recollections of the Lords and Commons. 2 vols. Saunders & Otley, London. 1838.
10. *Plain Sermons.* By Contributors to the Tracts for the Times. Rivingtons, London. 1839.
11. *Letters on the Writings of the Fathers of the Two First Centuries, with Reflexions on the Oxford Tracts.* By Miso-papisticus. Seeley, London.

12. *Episcopacy, Tradition, and the Sacraments considered, in reference to the Oxford Tracts.* By Rev. W. Fitzgerald, B.A.
13. *The Oxford Tract System considered, with reference to the Principle of Reserve in Preaching.* By Rev. C. S. Bird, M.A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Hatchards. 1838.
14. *Letter to the Bishop of Oxford on the Tendency to Romanism imputed to Doctrines held of old as now in the English Church.* By E. P. Pusey, D.D. Parker, Oxford. 1839.

THE existing state of parties in the Church is remarkable enough to justify some notice of it in the present state of the controversy to which the publications which we have just been enumerating belong. It is indeed melancholy to be called to such a task; for it is melancholy that there should be parties at all in a body which its Divine Founder intended to be one. However, that there are such is undeniable as a matter of fact; and with this we are principally concerned at present. What the cause of it is, and with whom the blame lies, of having brought things to such a pass, is another question, which shall not here be discussed.

The controversy in question began, it need scarcely be said, in the publication of certain tracts, several years since, by certain members of the University of Oxford, which thereupon were accused in various quarters of tending to Popery. And it as little requires to be proved that there is at the present moment a re-action in the Church, and a growing re-action towards the views which it has been their endeavour, and as it seemed on their commencement, almost hopeless endeavour, to advocate. The fairness of their prospects at the present moment is proved by the attack which has been made upon them by the public journals, and is confessed both by the more candid and the more violent among their opponents. For instance, the amiable Mr. Bickersteth speaks of it as having manifested itself "with the *most rapid growth* of the hot-bed of these evil days."* The scoffing author of the *Via Media* says—"At this moment the *Via* is crowded with young enthusiasts who never presume to argue, except against the propriety of arguing at all;" and the candid Mr. Baden Powell, who sees more of the difficulties of the controversy than the rest of their antagonists put together, admits that, "however mistaken some of the notions, or exaggerated reports which prevail on the subject, it is not the less certain that there does exist considerable ground for some such statement; and certainly an ample reason for making a close inquiry into the

* Dangers of the Church, p. 15.

facts of the case. It is clear," he proceeds, "from published authorities, that opinions and views of theology (of at least a very marked and peculiar kind, applying more especially to the subject of Church authority and others dependent on it,) have been *extensively adopted and strenuously upheld*, and are *daily gaining ground* among a considerable and influential portion of *the members*, as well as ministers, of the Established Church."* And the author of the Natural History of Enthusiasm, in a work the first part of which has appeared since these sheets were sent to press, speaks still more strongly: "The spread of these doctrines," he says, "is in fact now having the effect of rendering all other distinctions obsolete, and of severing the religious community into two portions, fundamentally and vehemently opposed one to the other. *Soon there will be no middle ground left*; and every man, and especially every clergyman, will be compelled to make his choice between the two."†

In order to show how widely the testimony to the fact extends, we will but add, out of many, two testimonies taken from the very extremes of society. The first is the witness of a bishop, speaking (as the title-page of his publication implies,) *ex cathedra* to his clergy, publishing at their request, and furnished with ample means of knowledge, at least of the external fact, if not of the works, which he condemns. He speaks of a "subject" which "is *daily assuming a more serious and alarming aspect*, and threatens a revival of the worst evils of the Romish system. Under the specious pretence of deference to antiquity, and respect for primitive models, the *foundations* of our Protestant Church are *undermined* by men who dwell within her walls, and those who sit in the Reformers' seat are traducing the Reformation."‡ The other authority we allude to, is the silly gossiping writer of Random Recollections of the Lords and Commons, who, in a new manufacture, called "Travels in Town," thus speaks of the spread of the doctrines of the Church.

"They have, indeed, already made fearful progress in different parts of the country, and, as before stated, are now making rapid progress where they were before unknown. One of the largest churches in Brighton is crowded every Sunday to hear those doctrines preached by the Rev. Mr. Anderson; so is the Church of Dr. Hook, in Leeds. In fact, there are few towns of note to which they have not extended; nay, they have even reached obscure and insignificant places in the remotest parts of the kingdom. They are preached in small towns in Scotland. They obtain in Elginshire, which is 600 miles north of London; and I found them myself in the heart of the Highlands of Scot-

* Tradition Unveiled, p. 4.

† Ancient Christianity, p. xi.

‡ Charge of the Bishop of Chester, p. 2.

land, when travelling there three months ago. . . . Nor are they confined to mere (!) churches and chapels of ease. As before remarked, they are advocated in the newspaper and periodical press. The Morning Post sustains the character of their apologist in London; and the Liverpool Mail, the Coventry Herald, and other journals identify themselves with them in the country. The Oxford Tract doctrines have *even* (!) insinuated themselves into the House of Commons. There is, at least, one county member in the centre of England, who cherishes them with more than a parental affection, and who is most zealous in his efforts to inoculate others with them."—vol. ii. p. 127.

This being then the state of the case, no wonder a well-known Scotch magazine, alluding to certain "unfortunate and deeply regretted publications," in behalf of these doctrines, feelingly observes, "The time is gone by when those works can be passed over without notice, and *the hope that their influence would fail is now dead.*"

Mr. Hunter Gordon, assuming the fact, proceeds to assign it to a *re-action* of religious sentiment, in which we agree with him, though differing from him in the particular light in which he views it.

"Protestantism," he says, "whose just boast it is to have set reason free from the fetters of ecclesiastical authority, *is not a fixed or stationary principle.* On the contrary, it is in a *state of rapid and irresistible progression*; nor did it stop short or rest content with that measure of liberty of conscience which the Reformation established. Each age still carried the right of private judgment further than the preceding; and it is only within the memory of the present age that the minds of men, both here and on the continent, *have begun to pause* in their career of discursive reasoning and speculation, and *to revert towards faith and authority.* Symptoms have even appeared of a disposition to revert to the other extreme."

All this is certainly very remarkable at first sight, considering the time that these views have been withdrawn from our public teaching, and the gradual and certain progress which seemed to be making toward their utter extinction. These very circumstances however have been, under God's good providence, the chief causes of their revival. The truth is, that while our Church is bound as she is to her present Prayer-Book, Services and Homilies, there must ever be a point beyond which she cannot fall away from her professed principles without exciting the scruples and alarms of tender consciences. However silently and determinately the change may go on, this salutary check will be felt at last, and prevent matters from progressing further, at any rate within the Church. And when this takes place, and the minds of men begin to reflect on their existing state of belief, and turn back to examine those opinions from which they have drifted,

then the very novelty of these, and (as most even of our opponents confess) the touching beauty, loftiness of idea, and earnestness of character which they evidence or require, take possession of them, and they proceed to advocate from affection what they took up as a duty.

This, it may be presumed, is a fairly correct account of the immediate circumstances under which the re-action to the true principles of the Church is at this time taking place. But other causes, collateral and disposing, may be enumerated in addition. One has been the plain tokens, which have appeared of late on the part of our civil governors, of an intention to withdraw the protection which Protestant England has as yet ever extended to the Church. In the defection which threatens her from this quarter, her members naturally look about for other means of sustaining her present hold upon the popular mind; and, being deprived of "the arm of flesh," are thankful to find that they have in their armoury spiritual weapons, long disused indeed, but, through God's mercy, not disabled, and of untold efficacy.

Again, the violence of the acting parties among the sectarians has both opened men's minds to the serious moral evils latent in sectarianism, and also removed or diminished the reluctance, which would otherwise have been felt, to recur to principles indirectly condemnatory of persons with whom they had hitherto been living in habits of intimacy or intercourse.

But besides these, and similar causes of the moment, there has been for some years, from whatever cause, a growing tendency towards the character of mind and feeling of which Catholic doctrines are the just expression. This manifested itself long before men entered into the truth intellectually, or knew what they ought to believe, and what not; and what the practical duties were to which a matured knowledge would lead them. During the first quarter of this century a great poet was raised in the North, who, whatever were his defects, has contributed by his works, in prose and verse, to prepare men for some closer and more practical approximation to Catholic truth. The general need of something deeper and more attractive than what had offered itself elsewhere, may be considered to have led to his popularity; and by means of his popularity he re-acted on his readers, stimulating their mental thirst, feeding their hopes, setting before them visions, which, when once seen, are not easily forgotten, and silently indoctrinating them with nobler ideas, which might afterwards be appealed to as first principles. Doubtless there are things in the poems and romances alluded to of which a correct judgment is forced to disapprove; and which must be

ever a matter of regret ; but contrasted with the popular writers of the last century, with its novelists, and some of its most admired poets, as Pope, they stand almost as oracles of Truth confronting the ministers of error and sin.

And while history in prose and verse was thus made the instrument of Church feelings and opinions, a philosophical basis for the same was being laid in England by a very original thinker, who, while he indulged a liberty of speculation which no Christian can tolerate, and advocated conclusions which were often heathen rather than Christian, yet after all instilled a higher philosophy into inquiring minds than they had hitherto been accustomed to accept. In this way he made trial of his age, and found it respond to him, and succeeded in interesting its genius in the cause of Catholic truth. It has indeed been only since his death that these results of Coleridge's writings have fully shown themselves ; but they were very evident when they did appear, and discovered the tendencies which had been working in his mind from the first. Two living poets may be added, one of whom in the department of fantastic fiction, the other in that of philosophical meditation, have addressed themselves to the same high principles and feelings, and carried forward their readers in the same direction.

These writers however are to be noticed far more as indications of what was secretly going on in the minds of men, than as causes of it. The re-action in the Church, or whatever other name we may give it, was long ago anticipated ; long, that is, before it showed itself in any distinct tokens which would be obvious to the multitude. Twenty-three years since a sagacious observer, withdrawn from the world, and surveying its movements at a distance, writes as follows :

" No Church on earth," he says, " has more intrinsic excellence [than the English Church], yet no Church, probably, has less practical influence. Her excellence then, I conceive, gives ground for confiding that Providence never will abandon her ; but her want of influence would seem no less clearly to indicate, that divine wisdom will not always suffer her to go on without measures for her improvement.

" Temporary adversity is that to which, in all such cases, as far as we know, the providence of God has hitherto resorted ; and we can form a clear idea of the manner in which a temporary depression of the English Church might exalt its moral qualities. But I conjecture that other valuable results, perhaps not otherwise to be arrived at, are to be hoped for from the apprehended reverse. Hitherto the Church of England, though more temperate in her measures than any other portion of the reformed body, has manifested no sentiment with such unrelenting intensity as dread of whatever could be deemed Popery. I deny not the expediency, perhaps the necessity, of this feeling, in such circumstances

as have hitherto existed. But it has given safety to the Church of England at the expense of perfection; which last can be attained only by proving all things, and holding fast what is good; and this discrimination can be practised only in the absence of prejudice. As matters are, dread of transubstantiation has made the sacrament a ceremony; and to ward off infallibility, every man has been encouraged to shape a creed for himself. The next certain cure for this extreme will be to experience its fruit. Another fall by dissenterism will make it be felt, that, if Popery can be a Charybdis, there is a Scylla on the other side no less dangerous. But it will be still more useful to learn, that, in the mixed mass of the Roman Catholic religion, there is gold and silver and precious stones, as well as wood, hay, and stubble; and that every thing of the former nature is to be as carefully preserved, as every thing of the latter nature is to be wisely rejected.

"Such are the considerations with which I comfort myself against events which I think I see approaching. . . . Shall the present negligence and insensibility always prevail? This cannot be: the rich provision made by the grace and providence of God, for habits of a noble kind, is evidence that *men shall arise fitted* both by nature and ability, to discover for themselves, and to display to others, whatever yet remains undiscovered, whether in the words or works of God. But if it be asked how shall fit instruments be prepared for this divine purpose, it can only be answered that, in the most signal instances, times of severe trial have been chosen for divine communications. . . . My persuasion of the radical excellence of the Church of England does not suffer me to doubt that she is to be an illustrious agent in bringing the mystical kingdom of Christ to its ultimate perfection."—*Knor's Remains*, vol. i. p. 51, *et seq.*

Such is the prophecy of a calm and sagacious mind, whose writings are themselves no slight evidence of the intellectual and moral movement under consideration. In this respect he outstrips Scott and Coleridge, that he realizes his own position, and is an instance in rudiment of those great restorations which he foresaw in development. And while he shares with the eminent writers of the day the work of advancing what he anticipated, others doubtless, in a similar seclusion from passing events, shared with him anticipations which they were not led to advance or even to record. It was impossible for serious minded men, ever so little versed in antiquity and the history of the Reformation, not to see that for a century and more past primitive truth had either been forgotten, or looked down upon, and our own engagements to it tacitly loosened. Indeed opinions which were openly acquiesced in by freethinkers, and noticed with satisfaction by the world's philosophers and historians, could not but excite strange impressions in the minds of true Churchmen, partly melancholy, partly by way of contrast, leading them to look forward into the future, and to anticipate change and improvement in the public mind. A much venerated clergyman of the last generation, one of the

most strenuous maintainers of ancient doctrines, and an energetic opponent of those who wished to carry our Church further than it had hitherto gone in the career of Protestantism, said shortly before his death to a friend of our own, "Depend on it, the day will come, when those great doctrines now buried," those connected with the Church, "will be brought out to the light of day, and then the effect will be quite fearful." If there be any who now blame the impetuosity of the current, let them rather turn their reflections upon those who have dammed up our majestic river till it has become a flood.

Now if there be any truth in these remarks, it is plainly idle and perverse to refer the change of opinions which is now going on to the acts of two or three individuals, as is sometimes done. Of course every event in human affairs has a beginning; and a beginning implies a when, and a where, and a by whom, and how. But except in these necessary circumstances, the phenomenon in question is in a manner quite independent of things visible and historical. It is not here or there; it has no progress, no causes, no fortunes; it is not a movement, it is a spirit, it is a spirit afloat, neither "in the secret chambers" nor "in the desert," but everywhere. It is within us, rising up in the heart where it was least expected, and working its way, though not in secret, yet so subtly and impalpably, as hardly to admit of precaution or encounter on any ordinary human rules of opposition. It is an adversary in the air, a something one and entire, a whole wherever it is, unapproachable and incapable of being grasped, as being the result of causes far deeper than political or other visible agencies, the spiritual awakening of spiritual wants.

Nothing can show more strikingly the truth of this representation, than to refer to what may be called the theological history of the individuals who, whatever be their differences from each other on important or unimportant points, yet are associated together in the advocacy of the doctrines in question. Dr. Hook and Mr. Churton represent the high church dignitaries of the last generation; Mr. Perceval the tory aristocracy; Mr. Keble is of the country clergy, and comes from valleys and woods, far removed both from notoriety and noise; Mr. Palmer and Mr. Todd are of Ireland; Dr. Pusey became what he is from among the Universities of Germany, and after a severe and tedious analysis of Arabic MSS. Mr. Dodsworth is said to have begun in the study of Prophecy; Mr. Newman to have been much indebted to the friendship of Archbishop Whately; Mr. Froude, if any one, gained his views from his own mind. Others have passed over from Calvinism and kindred religions.

While we write, a fresh instance of this independence and in-

dividuality meets our eye; which is so beautifully expressed that we must be allowed to set it before the reader.

“In the view contained in this preface,” says Mr. Oakeley in the remarks prefixed to his Whitehall Sermons, “such as it is, the author is alone responsible. It has been developed (so far as it can be said to be developed) in his mind *partly by study, partly by reflection, partly by conversation with one or two friends, inquirers like himself.* Neither does he by any means wish to disclaim (far otherwise) the influence of the teaching and example of certain members of his own University, who have for some time past been actively engaged in calling the attention of the Church in this nation to the theology of primitive times, and of her own earlier age; and thus are very commonly, but very erroneously, represented as the founders of a system, *to which they are after all but some, among many, witnesses.* With those persons the present writer, though indebted to them for many acts of kindness, and far more indebted to them for benefits, which, unconsciously to themselves, they have, as he humbly trusts, been instrumental in conveying to him, has yet never enjoyed the happiness and privilege of constant and familiar intercourse. From this circumstance *his testimony to the truths*, which they have long been engaged in upholding, *may possibly have gained in independence* what it has certainly lost in completeness.”—pp. lv. lvi.

Mr. Oakeley has but expressed in this extract what many could repeat after him. Where, then, is the common origin to which may be referred the present movement? What head of a sect is there? What march of opinions can be traced from mind to mind? They are one and all in their degree the organs of One Sentiment, which has risen up simultaneous in many places very mysteriously.

We consider then this to be a truer view of the recent rise of Catholic opinions, than the one ordinarily given. Its progress, for example, has been lately referred, by a candid looker-on, to the confident tone of its visible organs, and the tendency of the human mind in certain states, to accept whatever is urged upon its acceptance; and it is accordingly anticipated, that, when the excitement is over which such a mode of conversion implies, and the mind is turned calmly to examine the grounds of its new opinions, there will be a corresponding, though not perhaps so sudden a relapse from them. Now this, though an intelligible, and what is called sensible view of the matter, is surely deficient in depth; deficient for this reason, if for no other, that it does not contemplate and provide against the chance of deep moral causes being in operation, which are not seen. It may be frankly confessed that an excitement of the feelings, of whatever kind, *has* much to do with what is taking place, and perhaps will have still more,—and so again has the influence of authority, respect for character and the like; so has sentiment, imagination, or

fancy; and lastly, though the writer in question would perhaps deny it, so has discussion, argument, investigation. But neither one, nor all of them together have been the real operating *cause*; rather they have been the *means* only, through which that cause has acted. Men who feel in themselves a moral need, which certain doctrines supply, may be right or wrong in their feeling, as the case may be; and the doctrines may supply it more or less genuinely; but any how they embrace the doctrine because they need them; and if they give tokens of being moved by argument, or feeling, or fancy, or by sympathetic excitement, or by influence and authority, it is merely that they are moved *through* these means, not by them. Minds contented with what they are and have, can pass by solicitations whether of imagination or argument; but they who wish for things which they have not, start and look about them with beating hearts and troubled eyes, when a whisper, from whatever source, tells them that their yearnings perchance may find somewhat to repose on. Such feelings, if of earth, are merely enthusiastic, and often argue impatience and want of discipline: thus youths of high spirit indulge ambitious views, or allow themselves otherwise to idolize the creature; but when they are true and right, they are the motions of divinely implanted love, and the character of reliance which they manifest, whithersoever tending, is of the nature of faith. As to what *are* earthly, what heavenly feelings, and who is to discriminate between them, this is quite another question, on which men of different sentiments will decide differently. All we insist on is, that the opinions of men in general are the result of something deeper than caprice or syllogistic conviction, and more permanent than excitement.

We have been led on from considering the history of the present re-action in religious opinion, to discuss the moral causes to which religious opinion is to be referred. We say that argument, novelty, excitement, influence of others, imaginative beauty, these and the like appeals which address themselves to the mind from without, are but touchstones or tests, bringing out the hidden dispositions of one man, not of another. They are but the occasions, not the causes of a person changing his mind, and any other view of them is a very shallow one. At the same time it must of course be confessed that, besides this moral orthodoxy, as it may be called, there are a great number of persons of unformed characters and opinions, who have not definite basis enough within them good or bad to respond to or revolt from the real substance of the various *φαντασίαι* offered them; and they certainly are arrested and accidentally persuaded one way or the other by those

visible exhibitions, which to the former class of minds are but means and channels of something deeper. As some men are converted or repulsed by the hidden sympathy or antipathy of their hearts toward the objects presented to them, many more, being incapable of either, are what is called "convinced," that is by *argument*, or "taken," that is by mere *fancy*, "or persuaded," that is by mere *external influence*. Such persons, while they remain in this state, without root in themselves, are ever liable to be "convinced," "taken," or "persuaded" back again, and then they are rightly called *inconsistent*; though very often, nay in a measure always, in spite of the superficial character of such alternations, their hearts are unconsciously operated upon, for good or bad, by that doctrine which they at first took up, not from its congeniality to their own minds, but only for the sake of its vehicle. On the other hand, others are called inconsistent by the world, whose changes are really owing to the keenness of their cravings after true spiritual nourishment. Persons thus earnestly on the look out for something higher in the way of religion, than they at present possess, naturally seek it at once in whatever promises most. Then as their tone of mind rises, they become dissatisfied with their first choice; and on something better offering itself, quit it; not of course from light or capricious motives, but from the regular developing of their own character and perceptions.

All these things being considered, it would not be at all surprising, though, in spite of the earnestness of the principal advocates of the views in question, for which every one seems to give them credit, there should be among their followers much that is enthusiastic, extravagant, or excessive. All these aberrations will be and are imputed to the doctrines from which they proceed; not unnaturally, but hardly fairly, for aberrations there must ever be, whatever the doctrine is, while the human heart is sensitive, capricious and wayward. It must be so in the nature of things; it cannot be helped; a mixed multitude went out of Egypt with the Israelites. Truth and falsehood do not meet each other here by harsh lines; there are ten thousand varieties of intermixture between them. There will ever be a number of persons professing the opinions of a movement party, who talk loudly and strangely, do odd or fierce things, display themselves unnecessarily, and disgust other people; there will be ever those who are too young to be wise, too generous to be cautious, too warm to be sober, or too intellectual to be humble;—of whom human sagacity cannot determine, only the event, and perhaps not even that, whether they feel what they say, or how far; whether they are to be encouraged

or discountenanced. Such persons will be very apt to attach themselves to particular persons, to use particular names, to say things merely because others do, and to act in a party-spirited way; and in what has been above said, about the invisible and spiritual character of the present re-action, there was no intention of denying that it may necessarily be enveloped externally, from the circumstances just mentioned, with the dress and attributes of a school.

There is no warrant, however, for supposing that the agents themselves in the present revolution of religious sentiment partake in the fault we have been specifying, though, as is natural, it is the fashion to lay it at their door. It has been the fashion, though, in spite of Mr. Townsend, we hope it is going out of season, to accuse them of being simple Dominics, or men who contract their notion of religious truth to a narrow range of words, and would fain burn every one who scruples to accept them. Now it is certainly true, that they attach the deepest importance to Catholic principles in themselves, but as certainly they do not consider any opinion to be *per se* the salvation or the condemnation of the individual holding it, but a real congenial hearty belief, which, whether it exist or not, an omniscient eye only can discern. They seem to believe that certain doctrines are the rightful property of certain minds, and true doctrines of true minds; that many minds are neither true nor untrue, but in a transition or intermediate state; moreover that true and untrue doctrines exert an influence upon all minds which admit them, whether of the formed or unformed class. In their judgments of individuals then they go as far as this, that the holding a true doctrine is in itself a right thing; the denying a true doctrine in itself an act of sin, as any other sinful act; and this they would say is quite sufficient, without going further, to influence our impressions of the persons holding the one, and the other. If it be said that error, though of the nature of sin in itself, is not necessarily so in the person holding it, they are willing to admit this; but they think at the same time that it is *primâ facie* evidence of a very cogent sort against that person. Lastly, they consider it a duty to act towards such persons, as *if* they were really what they appeared to be; they are in the place of heretics, they profess themselves such: they stand in a hostile position to the Church, and the Church is bound by her discipline, and as it were her ceremonial, to withdraw her protection from them.

All this is by the way; and we will not interrupt the course of our remarks by noticing an extreme misconception of Mr. Towns-

end's on this head;* but we may be allowed, perhaps, in proof of what we have said, to cite the preface to the series of "Plain Sermons," which writers in the Tracts for the Times have lately commenced. Of these sermons we will but say, that, if they continue as they have begun, they will do as much to calm and reassure religious persons, and to root Catholic doctrines into the hearts of their upholders, as any publication to which the last five years have given birth. The editors say,

"If, therefore, as time goes on, there shall be found persons, who, admiring the innate beauty and majesty of the fuller system of Primitive

* Yet we may mention it in a note. This gentleman, then, reads a charge to the clergy of the peculiar of Allerton and Allertonshire, that is, to one or two of his curates, one or two very respectable, but perhaps not University men, certain churchwardens and a clerk; and it is published at their "request." The following is a specimen of it:—"Who does not lament to read in the pages of the learned Author of the History of the Arians, the defence of some of the worst principles on which the Church of Rome established all its usurpations? Who would believe that in the present day, when the doctrine of toleration might have been supposed to have become an axiom with governments and individuals, that this learned and laborious member of the University of Oxford, when he is relating in very just language the evil consequences of the conduct of the heretics, who opposed, in the fourth century, the doctrine of the Divinity of Christ, declares, that it is 'but equitable to anticipate those consequences in the persons of the heresiarchs, rather than to suffer them gradually to unfold, and spread far and wide after their day, sapping the faith of their deluded and less guilty followers.' That is, it is better to inflict punishment upon the persons of the heresiarchs, than to wait to confute their opinions because those opinions are injurious."

The fact is simply this. Mr. Newman is speaking of the duty of cross-examining, pressing hard in argument, and forcing into consequences, the originator of an heretical opinion, as the Fathers at Nicæa did Arius. He says this is charitable to all parties, as tending to open their eyes; and equitable withal, since a heresiarch, instead of hiding his heresy from himself under ambiguous phrases, should have its full consequences, its fullest developed malignity, wrought out in his own instance, instead of its running its course through other minds, and growing by degrees into its full proportions after perhaps his death. There is not any allusion of any kind in the passage or context to persecution at all; and we entirely believe that the author himself had not the most distant intention of alluding to it. If Mr. Townsend will look again, he will see that by "*person*" Mr. Newman does not mean the heresiarch's actual body, as he strangely supposes. But Mr. Townsend seems to have no idea of any overthrow but a physical one. Let us assure him there are such things as moral force, and victories in argument.

However he proceeds—

"*Could the Church of Rome require any other defence of its persecutions?* Who would believe that in the very same page in which this atrocious sentence is uttered we should read this passage also? "The heresiarch should meet with no mercy. He assumes the office of the tempter, and so far as his error goes must be dealt with by the competent authority as if he were embodied evil. To spare him is a false and dangerous pity. It is to endanger the souls of thousands, and it is uncharitable to himself." *Could the spirit of St. Dominic animate the inquisition with more intolerable language?* Is it to be endured in the present day among a people who rightly and justly seek for liberty as well as truth . . . that the Episcopal Church should be rendered odious by such language?"

A person who has written on the "idoltrous tendency" of the Tracts for the Times, repeats this mistake apparently on Mr. Townsend's authority; and we have lately heard a still further improved version of it, viz. "that there was no amount of physical suffering which Mr. Newman did not profess himself ready to inflict in order to put down his opponents."

Christianity, and seeing the transcendent strength of its principles, shall become loud and voluble advocates in their behalf, speaking the more freely because they do not feel them deeply as founded in divine and eternal truth, of such persons it is our duty to declare plainly, that as we should contemplate their condition with much serious misgiving, so would they be the last persons from whom we should seek support.

“ But if, on the other hand, there shall be any, who, in the silent humility of their lives, and in their unaffected reverence for holy things, show that they in truth accept these principles as real and substantial, and by habitual purity of heart and serenity of temper, give proof of their deep veneration for sacraments and sacramental ordinances, those persons, whether our professed adherents or not, best exemplify the kind of character which the writers of the *Tracts for the Times* have wished to form.”

Nothing, as it appears to us, can be more wise and religious than the temper which these remarks breathe. What more can be required of the preachers of neglected truth, than that they should caution persons against being carried away by it into the opposite extreme, and admit that some who do not assent to their preaching, are holier and better men than some who do? Whether their doctrine be true or not, is another question, into which we do not now enter; though no reader of the *British Critic* can doubt what our answer would be. We only say that their doctrine is the only point which lies open for discussion. While they hold the sentiments of the above extract, their opponents will “ not find any occasion against” them, except they “ find it concerning the law of” their “ God.” They are not answerable for the dust and din which attends any great moral movement. The truer doctrines are, the more liable they are to be perverted.

But to return. We allow then, with those writers themselves, that much of the present change of opinion is not unmixed with what its promoters would fain see away, if they had their will. Nor again is it at all clear, that their influence will never recede where it has once gained a footing. Again, it may often happen, as the editors of the sermons contemplate, that persons rightly disposed in the main, but of less keen sensibilities, will be discouraged or perplexed by the appearance of things at the very outset; and prevented from embracing the truth, though offered to their acceptance, by the force of “ logical conviction,” or “ imagination,” or “ external influence,” having already acted upon them the other way. These are the instruments by which our ideas of religion become impressed upon us, whatever they are; and as the heart shows itself tender and alive to truth when brought home to us through them, so it is almost of necessity dull and impene-

trable when such natural avenues are closed. However, in spite of the extravagances, misapprehensions, and inconsistencies to which we have alluded, in men both of the right and of the wrong side as to Church questions, there will after all be a general coincidence between a certain set of opinions and a certain character. The one will attend upon the other, and be a sort of type of it, correct in the main, though not to be depended on in every particular case. It is surely reasonable to judge in this way. We expect of a person who has adopted a set of opinions, whatever it may be, a character and tone of mind to correspond; and if we fail to see it in him, we note down the inconsistency. And in the present instance there is nothing to prevent this general expectation from holding good. The views of Catholic truth which are now brought out are deficient in many of those suspicious attractions which other systems hold out to the pride of intellect and originality of mind, to powers of eloquence, to susceptibility of emotion, to impatience of restraint. These views elevate the Church, but they sink the individual: and therefore those who take up with them are the more to be depended on, as far as this goes, for the sincerity and consistency of their profession. It is easy indeed to talk of sentiment, romance, and the perception of the beautiful acting powerfully upon persons, and being the cause of the present revolution of opinion. Now, if the doctrines in question do give scope for the exercise of these principles, their advocates are not to blame for this: they cannot help the Church system being beautiful in idea: it is so, whether they would have it so, or whether they would not. At the same time, the sense of the beautiful, we would beg to suggest, as cherished and appealed to by the Catholic doctrines, is, after all, no syren to beguile the unstable; to "take the prison'd soul and lap it in Elysium:" no need here for men to summon up fortitude, to be inflexible, to tie themselves hand and foot, for fear the winning sounds should lure them on to their own undoing. A very moderate foresight of the consequences of indulging it, would, we apprehend, be sufficient to make such precautions as these quite unnecessary. There are interests and motives which make a more pressing appeal on us than the sense of the beautiful. Yet, if this principle, which is so very much suspected by the prudent and reasoning among us, does carry men away, we do not see that any permanent mischief can come of it, where men are aware what they are doing. We see no harm in persons obeying the higher perceptions and impulses of their minds for the time being, whatever they may be, whether of the contemplative, or what is called the romantic, or again, of a more active and business-like character: provided always that they are ready to go on with what they have

begun; to acquiesce in consequences when they come upon them; to take up with a course as a whole.

This influence of accidental causes as instruments by which the catholicly-disposed mind is introduced to the objective catholic truth, is fully acknowledged and defended by Dr. Pusey in his recent Letter to the Bishop of Oxford. He says—

“ One has begun probably by one portion of the system, another by another, as Providence guided his disposition or his circumstances; yet as he took up, one by one, increasing duties, he found himself but filling up voids in himself; his unevenness or inequalities softened; inconsistencies subdued, and himself by each such approximation only rendered less out of harmony with the system in which he was placed; not thinking himself ‘ some great one,’ but rather ‘ an unprofitable servant,’ who was slowly learning to ‘ do that which was his duty to do.’”—p. 236.

We have been making admissions as to the operation of accidental causes in the present extension of Church principles, over and above the mere force of those principles themselves, and we make them without scruple or apprehension. Nor should we much object to carrying on such admissions farther; to admitting, that is, that certain accidental causes, such as the tendencies of the age, the national character, the character of the persons more especially engaged in the work, and the like, may be giving a tone and a bias to the rising church spirit itself, and that of a nature to adhere to it even throughout its future progress. Accidental causes are indeed found to work both ways; they both influence the mind in embracing certain doctrines, and they permanently fix the expression and development of them afterwards. Thus truth in every age is marked by hues and touches, not its own strictly, however they may harmonize with it; and these become its historical distinctions in future time. This is unavoidable, and moreover one can hardly doubt that much is gained by it; provided, of course, the true foundation is preserved throughout. Variety, to a certain extent, seems to be a prevailing law in the systems both of nature and of grace, and to be a great source of beauty and richness in both. Indeed, just as we say in physics, that nature “ abhors a vacuum,” in the same way, it would almost seem, in moral subjects, that she abhorred identity; that is, identity of the narrow, absolute, formal kind, which is not content with that oneness of principle, which corresponds to the unity of physical laws, but would shape every thing into one mould. It is a great characteristic in fact of the true system, that it can afford to be thus free and spontaneous, to vary its aspect, to modify, enlarge and accommodate itself to times and places without loss of principle. Why should not the different ages of the Church with their

different characters make up a whole, just as the Church itself in every age is, as St. Paul says, "many members yet but one body?"

We mention this, because some persons are apt to think when antiquity is talked about, that it implies an actual return to the exact forms of opinion and modes of feeling which prevailed in those earlier times as a fact; and they forthwith begin to talk about the nineteenth century, and the impossibility of our retrograding, and the folly and disadvantage of a too narrow standard, and the fallacy of thinking that whatever is ancient is, as such, an object of imitation. Simeon on his pillar, Antony in the mountain, councils in full debate and popular elections, incense and oil, insufflations and stoles with crosses on them, complete their notion of the ancient religion which they hear recommended. But all this is surely out of place at the present time. Nothing has been said by those whose writings have been so much reflected on lately, to show that they are antiquarian fanatics, urging the ancient doctrine and discipline upon the present age in any other except essential points, and not allowing fully that many things are unessential, even if abstractedly desirable. As to these points let the age acknowledge and submit itself to these in proportion as it can enter into them with heart and reality; in proportion as the reception of them would be, in its case, the natural development of Church principles. There are such things, all will admit, as indifferent points of character in which one age and one individual may differ from another without blame; and these surely may and often do produce theological differences of rite, usage, opinion and argument, which fairly admit of a mutual toleration. We readily allow that the writer of the Homily on Almsdeeds scarcely keeps step when he begins to walk with St. Cyprian; and that Tertullian, on the other hand, seems to feel uncomfortable when thrust by a venerated living prelate into the Thirty-nine Articles; or again, that even Bishop Bull in his *Harmonia* has not effected more than an armistice between the early Church and the German Protestants on the subject which he treats. Again, this age is a practical age, the age of the Fathers was more contemplative; their theology, consequently, had a deeper, more mystical, more subtle character about it, than we with our present habits of thought can readily enter into. We lay greater stress than they on proofs from definite verses of Scripture, or what are familiarly called texts, and build up a system upon them; they rather recognized a certain truth lying hid under the tenor of the sacred text as a whole, and showing itself more or less in this verse or that as it might be. We look on the letter of Scripture more as a foundation, they as an organ. Such a difference is quite

allowable, or rather natural or even necessary. They might have traditionary information of the general drift of the inspired text which we have not. We argue from what alone remains to us; they were able to move more freely. Moreover a certain high moral state of mind, which times of persecution alone create, may be necessary for a due exercise of mystical interpretation. To attempt it otherwise than from the heart, would be a profanation; better not attempt it at all. This should be understood; if persons, in this day, do not feel "sufficient for such things" spontaneously, we are not going to force such upon them as a piece of imitation. No good could come of merely imitating the Fathers for imitation's sake; rather it would seem likely to prevent the age from developing Church principles so freely as it might otherwise do. However the contingency here is not one we need be very solicitous about. The danger unfortunately lies the other way; in the way, that is, of superficial and disrespectful criticism on the Fathers. The truth is, we are sadly in want, after all our boasting, of that real liberality of mind which can acknowledge and admire the excellent wherever found, even though it may sometimes be of a kind which we do not sympathize with ourselves or feel called on to imitate. Granted that there are points in the divinity of the Fathers which were not designed to be followed up in the present age, why should men disdain the Fathers in consequence? Are we to admire nothing but what we are ourselves? Is our own age, its character, tastes, opinions, habits, to be the only admissible or tolerated standard of what is good? None but ignorant vulgar people laugh at every thing that is foreign. There is a rule of modesty, we rather think, which would take us quite the other way. A practical age should admire a contemplative one, even more than it would one of its own character; on the principle on which, in actual life, persons are often found to admire and attach themselves to those who are most different from themselves.

"alterius

Altera poscit opem res, et conjurat amicè."

For our own part we cannot but think that different schools of theology were meant to rise up from time to time in the Christian world according as change was wanted, nay in order to bring out, and give fulness and expression to the truth itself; the inward basis and substance of truth in doctrine and discipline of course continuing the same all along. Even the Fathers, we may notice, were of different schools. The respective characters of the Alexandrian, Antiochene, Roman and African are distinctly marked. Again, it is hardly possible to deny that Augustine's theology is in

a certain sense what may be called a second edition of the Catholic Traditions, the transmission of the primitive stream through an acute, rich and powerful mind. Another change took place in point of tone and view (for it does not fall into our subject to allude to positive errors) in the theology of the schoolmen. And in the same way what is there to prevent the growth amongst us, at the present day, of a school of Church divinity to follow in the train of its predecessors of old time, but not to be bound in the letter to any one of them? or to be an harmony of them all? or again a development? or a particular aspect?

Much has taken place in our Church, since the days of the schoolmen, to give reason for such a modification of ecclesiastical doctrine, and more since the days of the Fathers. There have been the middle ages, then the Reformation, then Puritanism, then Dissent in the multitudinous and overwhelming form in which it has manifested itself in recent times. All these have been great changes, involving changes in the moral state and (what may be called) *mind* of the Church, and that over and above the silent progress which society has been making, the revolutions of civil government, the march of civilization, and, what has necessarily attended upon it, a far more active and excited state of the public mind. These causes must have produced and must be still producing their several effects, greater or less, upon us, such as would extend at last to our theology. Indeed we cannot suppose any set of events of this nature to leave the world exactly where it found it; they would influence, or alarm, or develope, or direct the minds of divines, as the case might be.

In this way, then, it is that we stand with respect to antiquity. We cannot, if we would, move ourselves literally back into the times of the Fathers: we must, in spite of ourselves, be churchmen of our own era, not of any other, were it only for this reason, that we have not the power.

And that all this is understood by the writers who are at present attracting attention, is plain from the following explicit avowal of one of them, which, whatever may be worth of the views it puts forward, is far indeed from implying any blind antiquarian adherence to early times.

"Primitive doctrine," says Mr. Newman, speaking of the labours of *English* divines, "has been explored for us in every direction, and the original principles of the Gospel and the Church patiently and successfully brought to light. But one thing is wanting We have a vast inheritance, but no inventory of our treasures. All is given us in profusion; it remains for us to catalogue, sort, distribute, select, harmonize, and complete. . . . What we need at present for our Church's well-being is not invention, nor originality, nor sagacity, nor even learning in our

divines, at least in the first place,—though all these gifts of God are in a measure needed, and never can be unreasonable when used religiously,—but we need peculiarly a sound judgment, patient thought, discrimination, a comprehensive mind, an abstinence from all private fancies and caprices and personal tastes,—in a word, divine wisdom.”—*Romanism*, p. 30, ed. 2.

We are tempted to illustrate this matter a little more fully. Every one knows that in mathematics the same truths may be thrown into the language of geometry or algebra, the same conclusions worked out by distinct processes in this or that medium or *calculus*. The same thing takes place in all sciences. A problem which continually meets us is to express the truths of one province of knowledge in the terms of another. To take the stock illustration, red may be called the sound of a trumpet when thrown into the *calculus* of sound. Again, the great difficulty of translating is to find the equivalent expressions in the *calculus* of a fresh language. What, again, is the art of rhetoric but the throwing reasonings, in themselves sound, into the *calculus* of another man's tastes, opinions, and affections? A parallel task frequently occurs in law; namely, the problem of reducing an existing case into established precedents, and expressing it in the formulæ which are received.

“Very accurate definitions,” says De Lolme, “as well as distinct branches of cases and actions, were contrived by the first Roman juriconsults: and when a man had once made his election of that peculiar kind of action by which he chose to pursue his claim, it became out of his power to alter it. Settled forms of words, called *actiones legis*, were moreover contrived, which men *must absolutely use* to set forth their demands. . . . Extremely like the above *actiones legis* are the *writs* used in the English courts of law. Those writs are framed for and adapted to every branch or denomination of action, such as *detinue, trespass, &c.*”

He proceeds;

“Of so much weight in the English law are these original delineations of cases, that no cause is suffered to be proceeded upon, unless they first appear as legal introductions to it. However important or interesting the case, the judge, *till he sees the writ he is used to*, or at least a writ issued from the right manufacturer, is both deaf and dumb. *He is without eyes to see, or ears to hear* To remedy the above inconvenience, or rather in some degree to palliate it, *law fictions* have been resorted to in the English law, by which writs, being warped from their actual meaning, *are made* to extend to cases to which they in no shape belong. Law fictions of the kind we mention were not unknown to the Roman juriconsults; and, as an instance of their ingenuity in that respect, may be mentioned that kind of action in which a daughter was called a son. Several instances might also be quoted of the fictitious use of writs in the English courts of common law. A very remarkable

expedient of that sort occurs in the method generally used to sue for the payment of certain kinds of debt before the Court of Common Pleas ; such (if I mistake not) as a salary for work done, indemnity for fulfilled orders received, &c. The writ issued in these cases is grounded on the supposition that the person sued has trespassed on the ground of the plaintiff, and broken by force of arms through his fences and enclosures, &c."

If in addition to this illustration, which has been extended somewhat beyond its due limits, another is wanted, it will be found in the House of Commons, where no matter of principle can be introduced till it is thrown into the *calculus* of expediency.

Not so much, of course, as the difference which these instances imply, but such in its origin and nature is the change which the adjuncts of Christian truth, its opinions, feelings, objects, and temper may undergo in different eras. For instance, the doctrine of justification by faith only is the form in which the Reformation cast that eternal truth catholicly implied in the act of baptism, of which it is the equivalent. The Augustinian doctrine of predestination is the mode in which minds of a peculiar formation have, in a corrupt state of the Church, expressed the eternal truth, that the way of life is narrow. Or to take an instance of a different kind ; this age, as we have observed, is more practical, the primitive more contemplative ; that adopted a mystical religion, our's a more literal. How, then, are satisfied in our age those wants and feelings of human nature, which is always the same, formerly supplied by symbols, now that the symbolical language and ritual are almost perished ? Were we disposed to theorize, we might perhaps say, that the taste for poetry in modern times has in a certain sense taken the place of the deep contemplative spirit of the early Church. At any rate it is a curious circumstance, considering how much our active and business-like habits take us the other way, that the taste for poetry should have been developed so much more strongly amongst ourselves than it seems to have been in the earlier times of the Church ; as if our character required such an element to counterbalance the firmer and more dominant properties in it. We only mention this by way of instancing (if it is allowable to interpret it so) the power which seems to exist in altered states of society and of the human intellect, and much more, with reverence be it spoken, of the divinely gifted Church, of working out for themselves channels of their own, to certain moral ends, where former ones have been lost sight of, or become incongenial to persons' tastes. It may appear far fetched of course to some, to draw any comparison between the mysticism of the ancients, and the poetry or romance of the moderns, as to the religious tendencies of each ; yet it can

hardly be doubted, that, in matter of fact, poetry has been cultivated and cherished in our later times by the Cavaliers and Tories in a peculiar way, and looked coldly on by Puritans and their modern representatives. In like manner, a Romanist writer observes of the "Christian Year," with a mixture of truth and error, that it is an attempt to collect and form into a crown the scattered jewels which the torrent of the 16th century has left to the English Church. Poetry then is our mysticism; and so far as any two characters of mind tend to penetrate below the surface of things, and to draw men away from the material to the invisible world, so far they may certainly be said to answer the same end; and that too a religious one.

We have now said enough to explain what we consider the views of the present revivers of ancient truth. In going back to antiquity, they do not wish to force men upon bare, literal, accurate antiquity in points unessential; upon antiquity exactly as it was when ancient times were modern. We should be as unwilling to anticipate that any one age of the world was meant to be exactly like any other, as to set about proving that every flower of the earth was like every other. Identity of appearance is not the law on which the parts of the creation exist; and as far as it shows itself it has the most insipid associations connected with it. What happens in individuals, countries, and works, holds good also in times and eras. Let, then, party spirit, cowardice, misapprehension, indolence, and secularity, clamour as they will, we cannot but trust that a great work is going on. In spite of the dread of antiquity, the calumny of Popery, the hatred of austerity, the reluctance to inquire, and the vast hubbub which is thereby caused on all sides of us—we have good hope meanwhile that a system will be rising up, superior to the age, yet harmonizing with and carrying out its higher points, which will attract to itself those who are willing to make a venture and face difficulties, for the sake of something higher in prospect. And for such minds it will be a reward, and one which they will have fully deserved, to discover at length that they have less sacrifices to make, less to give up of their natural tastes and wishes, by adopting the rule of Catholic tradition, than they could have anticipated before hand. On this, as upon other subjects, the proverb will apply, "*fortes fortuna juvat.*" It is wrong, indeed, to have longings or schemes for being let off easily; and those who do indulge them, may be assured that they will *not*. To such persons all is up-hill work: it is so in the affairs of life; it is no less so in religion; whereas would serious people but make up their minds to take what in the plain order of providence is put before them, according to the amount of evidence for it, at all hazards, or, to use the

language of the day, with a sounder meaning, to "march with the age," they would be surprised to see, when they *had* adopted the Primitive system, how naturally and easily it fitted on to them, and how little it had of the galling nature of a yoke, a bondage, and a burden; names which are liberally bestowed upon it at present. As it is, however, the mere name of antiquity seems to produce a sudden collapse of the intellect in many quarters, certain shudders, and convulsions, and indescribable inward sensations. Of course, while such a condition of mind lasts, nothing is left for those who happily are uninfested by the epidemic but patience and activity; the causes which incapacitate the world for understanding them, happily incapacitating it also for opposing.

We may seem to have been speaking in a sanguine way about the spread of the opinions in question; but this is in reality far from our intention. About the future we have no prospect before our minds whatever, good or bad. Ever since that great luminary, Augustine, proved to be the last bishop of Hippo and his labours for his own Africa were lost immediately in its Vandal and finally in the Saracenic captivity, Christians have had a lesson against attempting to foretell *how* Providence will prosper and bring to an end what it begins. What is true of great things, is true of little also. Catholic principles *ought* to spread at the present time as far as there is any substratum, as it may be called, in the national mind to support and give reality to them; but what a question is this, not to go to others, even to guess at? or rather it belongs simply to that invisible world into which we are not admitted. What lies before our highly-favoured but unfortunate Church we know not; the principles now on the rise may be destined to prevail; or some miserable schism may gradually fritter them away, and some more miserable compromise suffocate them. We will not enter into the question, or risk any anticipation. There is nothing rash however in venturing one prediction, which will lead to some further remarks, that, whether they maintain their ground or not, the two antagonist principles will not maintain theirs. Whether the English Church can keep a firm grasp of Laud's divinity or not, it is very certain that neither Puritanism or Liberalism has any permanent inheritance within her.

As to Liberalism, we think the formularies of the Church will ever, with the aid of a good providence, keep it from making any serious inroads upon the clergy; besides, it is too cold a principle to prevail with the multitude; so we shall say no more about it.

We have called the other system of opinion Puritanism, be-

cause we cannot hit upon a fit name for it. It is a very peculiar system, as being based on no one principle, but propping itself up upon several, and those not very concordant; and thus to give it a name is almost as desperate a task as to set about giving it a consistence. To call it Evangelical, would be an unlawful concession; to call it Puritan, were to lose sight of its establishment side; to call it Ultra-Protestant, would be to offend its upholders; and to call it Protestant, would not be respectful to Protestantism. Anti-Catholic is vague; Anti-Sacramentarian is too long a word. This, indeed, is its very advantage in controversy with Catholic principles; that it has a short and glib word ready at hand, and may readily call them "Popery," while they had no retort courteous to inflict upon it. However, be its name what it will, it stands for the largest, most compact, most prominent party in our Church at this moment. It has much power, much money, much influence; and would seem, from its position, to have the ability, as it has (consciously or unconsciously) the will, to effect sooner or later important changes in our doctrine and discipline.

But in spite of these appearances in its favour, a closer examination will show us that it cannot remain in its present state much longer; inasmuch as an internal principle of union, permanence, and consistency is wanting; and where this is wanting, a principle of life is wanting and all its outward show. Its adherents are already separating from each other, and it is not difficult to see that in due time they will melt away like a snow drift. Indeed their very success would cause this result, if there were no other reason. The possession of power naturally tends to the dissolution of all confidence; how much more so then in the case of a party, which is not only open to the wilfulnesses and rivalries of our frail nature, but which actually sanctifies them by propounding as a first principle that in spirituals no man is really above another, but that each individual, from high to low, is both privileged and bound to make out his religious views for himself? But over and above this, the system in question, if so it may be called, is, as we have intimated, full of inconsistencies and anomalies; it is built not on one principle but on half a dozen; and thus contains within it the seeds of ruin, which time only is required to develope. At present it carries out fairly not any one principle; nor does it try to adjust and limit one by the other; but as the English language is partly Saxon, partly Latin, with some German, some French, some Dutch and Italian, so this religious creed is made up of the fragments of religion which the course of events has brought together and has imbedded in it, something of Lutheranism, and something of Calvinism, some-

thing of Erastianism, and something of Zuinglianism, a little Judaism, and a little dogmatism, and not a little secularity, as if by hazard. It has no straight-forward view on any one point on which it professes to teach; and to hide its poverty it has dressed itself out in a maze of words, which all enquirers feel and are perplexed with, yet few are able to penetrate. It cannot pronounce plainly what it holds about the sacraments, what it means by unity, what it thinks of antiquity, what fundamentals are, what the Church; what again it means by faith. It has no intelligible rule for interpreting Scripture beyond that of submission to the arbitrary comments which have come down to it, though it knows it not, from Zuingle or Melancthon. "Unstable as water it cannot excel." It is but an inchoate state or stage of a doctrine, and its final resolution is in rationalism. This it has ever shown when suffered to work itself out without interruption; and among ourselves it is only kept from doing so by the influence of our received formularies. When then it is confronted, as now it is more and more likely to be, by more consistent views, it cannot maintain its present unscientific condition. It will either disappear or be carried out. Some of its adherents will be startled and return to sounder views; others will develop themselves into avowed liberalism. Its many societies and institutions, however well organized and energetic, will avail it nothing in this crisis. They are but framework and machinery, and while they presuppose a creed they are available for one almost as much as the other. As opinions change they will be modified or destroyed. Imposing and flourishing as they are in appearance, they have as little power to stop the march of opinion as a man in a boat to act directly on its motion; they are the mere material or corporeal part of the system, the instrument not the living principle of the soul. Thus the matter stands as regards the far spread religious confederacy of our days. We have no dread of it at all; we only fear what it may lead to. It does not stand on entrenched ground or make any pretence to a position; it does but occupy the *μεταχμιον*, the space between contending powers, Catholic truth and rationalism; neither of these owning it, or making account of it, or courting it; on the contrary, both feeling it to be an hindrance in the way of their engaging with each other, and impatiently waiting to be rid of it. Then, indeed, will be the stern encounter, when two real and living principles, simple, entire, and consistent, one in the Church, the other out of it, at length rush upon each other, contending not for names and words, or half views, but for elementary notions and distinctive moral characters. Meanwhile the advocates of the motley Protestantism we have been describing, as if aware of its intrinsic hollowness and

imbecility, are at this moment trying to make the most of their accidental advantages while they last; and would fain clench matters in their favour by such organic changes, whether in our discipline or services, or such accidental implications or authoritative explanations of doctrine, as the meeting of Convocation or erection of monuments, or decisions in the law courts would give opportunity for effecting.

Let us hear the author of "*Ancient Christianity*" on the prospective fortunes of this section of the religious world. He says,

"Nothing can be less desirable to the evangelical clergy than to be forced into any formal or particular argument with their accomplished and learned brethren, on the very points that have driven some of their most distinguished predecessors, and of themselves, to the edge of non-conformity, and which chafe many a sensitive conscience. They may, by the aid of peculiar considerations, drawn from the perils of the times, have brought themselves to believe that they seriously disaffect nothing in the ritual or constitution of the Church: and they may be satisfied with this or that elaborate explanation of certain difficulties; nevertheless the uneasiness, although assuaged, is not removed, for the difficulty is real, and its reality and its magnitude must be brought afresh before them, to the renewal of many painful conflicts of mind, whenever the genuine and original Church of England principle and discipline comes, as now, by the Oxford divines, to be insisted on, expounded, and carried on to its fair consequences. What the English Reformers had in view was, *Ancient Christianity*, or the doctrine, and discipline, and ritual of the Nicene age, and of the times nearly preceding that age. . . . But how utterly different a notion of Christianity was that which animated the zeal of the founders of Methodism, and which in the main was caught by the fathers of the evangelical clergy. Holding to the same orthodoxy, the same Nicene and Athanasian doctrine, every thing else in the two systems stands out as a point of distinction. What parallels could be more incongruous, even to absurdity, than such as one might strive to institute, for instance, between Cyprian and Romaine, Tertullian and Milner, Chrysostom and Cecil, Augustine and Scott, Jerome and Newton?"—pp. 8, 9.

There is another consideration which should be dwelt upon. It was long objected to the clergy that they were not a reading body; and much has been said, especially in controversy with the Universities, about the profound attainments of German theologians. Sectarians have said much about our incumbents being in the commission of the peace or fox hunters; thoughtful men have shaken their heads and come to the conclusion that it cannot be helped, the English being an active not a studious race; and divinity professors have for years been doing what they could to revive the taste for reading. Now it is strange that amid all this accusation, all this regret, all this endeavour, it seems to have

been forgotten that reading implies *books*, as its correlative; that the clergy cannot read without reading something, and that that something will be to a certainty the works of those who are of authority, not of those who are not. It is no use reading unless we read something that is of use. There is no sense in reading nonsense; and we may be sure if men make up their minds to sacrifice society, and out-door amusements, and active employments, they will not do so for the drudgery of reading newspapers, periodicals, novels, annuals, Exeter Hall divinity *et id genus*, unless they be very ascetically disposed. If men resign themselves to being students in theology they will read theological works. They will not read Milner or Scott, whatever their merits; they will read Hooker, Taylor, Barrow, Waterland, Wall, Bingham, and that moreover not to take for granted every word each says, which would be impossible, but in order to gain general notions what theology is. At the same time, unless they set themselves altogether against them and reject them *in toto*, (as some extreme persons do), their views of religion must be influenced by them, must become very different from those now popular, very much more primitive, very like what religionists of the day call Popery. No one of any party denies, for instance, that Hooker says many things strange to our present notions of divinity; all that Ultra-Protestants say in explanation is, that the leaven of Popery was not at that day worked out of the Church. We hold it to be a matter of fact which no one can doubt, that if a man strictly confined himself to the very letter of Hooker or of Taylor he would be as seriously accused of Popery by the multitude and as plausibly as Mr. Palmer or Mr. Newman. They differ from Hooker and Taylor perhaps in many details; but it is not those details which make them called Popish; it is the general strain of their doctrine, the tenor of their thoughts, in which they are as really followers of Hooker or Taylor as they are not followers of the religion of the day. But to return to Hooker and Taylor; they must be studied, it seems; and why, except because they are of name? and what is the reason that they are so, except that they are men of great intellects? Are they likely to turn out men of weak reasonings, inaccurate statements, fanciful theories? Are they not likely to say many things strongly and persuasively? Is it wonderful that they who read them, should be moved and convinced by them? Is it wonderful, then, that if their works are again opened to our clergy and become text-books, that our clergy should become much more Catholic and non-Protestant in their religious views than they were? This consideration will show how unsuitable is the vexation which seems in some quarters to be felt, that the present spread of a taste for theological study should *happen* to be

connected with opinions, as it is pretended, seasoning of Popery. But what if it turns out that this apparent accident is but a necessary condition? Men will not study what they take no interest in, and care not for. If they are to read our divines, they must withal like them. Jackson's works sold for waste paper at the beginning of the century; they now bring seven guineas; have the clergy many seven guineas to throw away on what is not to influence or guide them? Are that great writer's views on Catholic tradition, justification, and Christ's presence, to go for as little as when they sold for seven and six-pence, bound and in good condition? And so again of the Fathers: if they are to be read, are they to be read to no purpose or to some purpose? are they or are they not to inform and instruct? There is but another alternative, which we have already hinted at, that students should read to carp and oppose, which, we suppose, would not mend the matter even in the judgment of those who are so cross at the present untoward burst of Catholicism. But these cross persons will answer, that of course divines modern and ancient are to be read for instruction, but they are not to be followed slavishly or hotly; that they are to be read with discrimination, with judgment; and that this is the thing so much to be regretted at the present time, that there is such a lack of sound discretion, of wisdom, of moderation, of tact; so much of what is extreme, so much of excitement, so much of party, so much to shock and offend, so much that is to be deprecated and ought never to have been done. Now such persons must be plainly asked, whether by moderate and judicious opinions they do not mean just those very opinions, neither more nor less, which do not shock themselves? whether there are not persons, on the other hand, whom their own opinions are calculated to shock? and, again, if they shock and offend no one, whether the plain reason of this be not, because they do not or cannot put their opinions, whatever they are, forward? whether, in short, their *vagueness* is not their sole protection? This, indeed, we think will be found generally to hold; that what men in common mean by *strong* opinions really are *clear* and *distinct* opinions. You may hold the most fatal errors or the most utter extravagances, if you hold them in a misty confused way. Numbers will persist in countenancing and defending even these. But ask yourself what you mean by your words, try to master your own thoughts, try to ascertain what you believe and what you do not, avoid big professions, blustering epithets, and languid generalities; and lookers-on at once begin to wonder why you should so needlessly hurt people's feelings and damage your own cause. In the present day mistiness is the mother of wisdom. A man who can set down half-a-dozen general propositions, which

escape from destroying one another only by being diluted into truisms, who can hold the balance between opposites so skilfully as to do without either fulcrum or beam, who never enunciates a truth without guarding himself from being supposed to exclude the contradictory, who holds that Scripture is the only authority, yet that the Church is to be deferred to, that faith only justifies, yet that it does not justify without works, that grace does not depend on the sacraments, yet is not given without them, that bishops are a divine ordinance, yet those who have them not are in the same religious condition as those who have,—this is your safe man and the hope of the Church; this is what the Church is said to want, not party men, but sensible, temperate, sober, well-judging, persons, to guide it through the channel of No-meaning, between the Scylla and Charybdis of Aye and No. But, alas! reading sets men thinking; shut up their books if this is a mischief; but if you do not, count the cost, weigh and measure the consequences. They will not keep standing in that very attitude, which you please to call sound Church-of-Englandism or orthodox Protestantism. It tires them, it is so very awkward; and for the life of them they cannot continue in it long together, where there is neither article nor canon to lean against; they cannot go on for ever standing on one leg, or sitting without a chair, or walking with their legs tied, or grazing, like Tityrus's stags, on the air. Premises imply conclusions; germs lead to developments; principles have issues; doctrines lead to action. As well might you invert a pitcher of water, and expect the contents to eschew the ground and remain *jam jam ruitura*, as fancy that men will not carry out the truths which they have gained, whether from their own minds, or from our divines, or from the Fathers. They may take one view or another of the English or the Primitive Church; but, whatever else it be, on the long run, it will be a consistent view. It may be Liberalism, or Erastianism, or Popery, or Catholicity; but it will be real. It will not be a merely transition view; it will not be Lutheranism, or Presbyterianism, or Jewellism, or Burnetism, or Paleyism, or Jacob-Abbotism. Effects will sooner or later be seen to presuppose causes; correlations to imply each other; contradictions to exclude each other; the elephant will not for ever stand on the tortoise, or the Barmicide fatten upon empty dishes. The most intense horror of Popery cannot undo facts or legitimate fallacies. And the sooner certain zealous friends of Protestantism understand this the better.

What has been said suggests one remark in addition. The reaction which has been the subject of it is not confined to England. This is a fresh fact, and it does not require much proof. Look at

the state of Germany, where the old Rationalism of the last century is succeeded by Pantheism, by the modified Lutheranism of Neander and Leo, or by a return to Romanism. Look to Holland, where an attempt is now making to revive Calvinism on its strictest and most exclusive principles. Look to Denmark, where to say the least, men seem to be sighing in secret for something deeper and firmer than the creed in which they have been brought up. Look at the Church of Rome itself, every where, in which discipline and zeal have succeeded to a long indifference. Consider that at the present moment, in the three great literary countries of Europe, Germany, France, and England, translations of the Fathers, in series, are now in course of publication, by a simultaneous and apparently independent movement in each place. Consider that the Germans are beginning to study the schoolmen. Look at the state of literature in London; the old Benthamism shrivelling up, and a richer and warmer philosophy succeeding. Consider the state of our Universities; at Cambridge, Utilitarianism, Shelleyism, Coleridgism, edging forward and forward, no one knowing how, to a more Catholic theology; at Dublin, no uncertain tokens of a great and happy change, and that among able and serious men of various characters of mind, and schools of opinion; Oxford again, the head-quarters of that special revolution of thought which has been our subject. Consider the number of volumes which, in the course of a few years, the fervour of the movement has thrown out, and the hunger of the Church has absorbed.

"Were I to give you a full list of the works they have produced within the short space of five years," says Mr. Bird to his friend, speaking of the Oxford school, "I should surprise you: you would see what a task it would be to make yourself complete master of their system, even in its present probably immature state. They commenced their labours, I believe, in 1833 and going on with a yearly birth of a thick volume of the Tracts for the Times, the fourth of which belongs to the present year, and of which an indefinite series may be expected, they send forth, at intervals, numerous large octavo volumes (some of them heavy in more respects than one, in spite of the acknowledged talent of the writers), accompanied by a light array of separate tracts, sermons, letters, and poetry, and ably supported by Reviews and Articles. . . . The writers as a body have adopted, according to Dr. Pusey, the motto 'In quietness and confidence shall be your strength.' With regard to confidence, they have justified their adopting it; but as to quietness, it is not being very quiet to pour forth such a rapid succession of controversial publications in the compass of so few years."—*Letter*, p. 5.

Or again let us attend to the author of "*Ancient Christianity*:"

"The general scheme of principles and sentiments that has been embodied in the publications referred to, recommends itself by a still depth, a latent power, a momentum, and a consistency in its development, which are the very characteristics of those movements that are to go on, and are to bring with them great changes, whether for the better or the worse."—p. 2.

All these are signs of change, not in this or that individual, but in the public mind. The reading public are becoming impressible by notions and convictions very different from those which have been fashionable of late. It shows the march of the whole of educated Europe. The phenomenon, which has long been preparing in this country, is a European movement. This is the fact to which we would draw attention, and the reference is as plain as itself. To what does the current of opinion point? it points every where to dogmatism, to mysticism, or to asceticism; it points on one side to popery, on another to pantheism; on another to democracy; it does *not* point to the schools of the Reformation. England cannot any longer be Calvinistic, or Zuinglian, or Lutheran; does it wish to be democratic, or pantheistic, or popish? does it wish to be infected by the democracy of France, the pantheism of Germany, or the popery of Italy? Surely then our true wisdom now is to look for some *Via Media* which will preserve us from what threatens, though it cannot restore the dead. The spirit of Luther is dead; but Hildebrand and Loyola are still alive. Is it sensible, sober, judicious, to be so very angry with those writers of the day, who point to the fact that our Divines of the 17th century have occupied a ground which is the true and intelligible mean between extremes? Is it wise to quarrel with this ground because it is not exactly what we should choose, had we the power of choice? Is it true moderation, instead of trying to fortify a middle doctrine, to fling stones at those who do? On the other hand, is there not something natural and reasonable in what the latter parties are doing? they betake themselves to the old works long neglected; they determine to put them in condition again. There is much to be mended; some additions necessary; some portions superseded by changes in the art of war. Culverins and demi-sakers are gone out of fashion. They may not, perhaps, draw their lines or make their trenches in the same direction to an inch, or so as to include the same number of square feet; yet, on the whole, they are taking up a position on the old sconce and repairing the works.

If this be a true account of the present position of things, it is plainly idle to make the whole turn upon this man or that; as if the movement arose from individuals, not from the age. What

do persons who speak as if it did, think to gain by so treating it? Can you stop the course of opinion now that it has begun, by stopping the mouths of one or two men, even supposing you could do so? Surely it will be better for you, Ultra-Protestant as you are, instead of reproaching them with a storm, which is none of their raising, to thank them for making the best of a bad matter, and to use them as pilots to guide you through it, *κατὰ τὸν δεύτερον πλῆθ*, in not the worst way, if not in the best. Though the current of the age cannot be stopped, it may be directed; and it is better that it should find its way into the Anglican port, than that it should be propelled into Popery, or drifted upon unbelief. You cannot make others think as you will, even those who are nearest and dearest to you. And if you cannot do this, if principles will develop themselves, beyond the arbitrary points of which you are so fond, and to which they have hitherto been limited, like prisoners on parole; then it becomes a piece of practical wisdom to take what you can get, since you cannot have what you like, or to use the common illustration, to make your shoe out of the leather provided for you. Would you rather have your sons and daughters members of the Church of England, or of the Church of Rome? That is the real alternative, if we follow things to their results; and the Romanists feel this. Anglo-Catholicism is a road leading off the beaten highway of Popery: it branches off at last, though for some time it seems one with it. Accordingly they look on the English Church as a fraudulent come-off, as a sort of *cul de sac*, a bye-path which brings persons indeed to what looks like a holy place, and a temple, but which is only so from an external semblance of venerableness; like those modern specimens of architecture where the plasterer's skill has been made to imitate the effects of time. They view ours in short as a church which gratifies feelings without their proper objects; and thus they both envy her as a rival, and most unjustly feel irritation towards her, as an artful and unfair one.

We had intended, after these high discussions, to furnish the reader, by way of conclusion, with some light matter which might be considered as a sort of desert after dinner. In plain English, he was to be regaled with some interesting specimens from certain of the works which we have prefixed to this article, but our necessary limits have frustrated our good intentions towards him.

ART. VI.—*The Bishop of Exeter's Speech in the House of Lords on the Ecclesiastical Discipline Bill.* 1838.

THE probability that Ecclesiastical Discipline may be one of the subjects on which Parliament will, during the present session, be called upon to deliberate, renders it very proper that we should at this time direct the attention of our readers to the consideration of that important part of the polity of our Church.

We have for a long time been used to consider the establishment of the Church by law as an arrangement so beneficial to the Church as to be without attendant dangers; and that apparent privilege has certainly rendered her an object of envy to the Dissenters of almost all denominations. But it requires little wisdom to see that the dangers to the Church resulting from such powerful protection are by no means insignificant. That the Church of Rome has suffered from the boasted connection between the throne and the altar, every one acquainted with Italy and Spain can testify. The constant jealousy of the temporal power has there made the Church an instrument of government;—encouraging superstition as affording a hold upon the people, governing the people by priests, and the priests by corruption or arbitrary power. This political aspect of the Church of Rome as an establishment under the power and protection of despotism deserves deep consideration, both as being absolutely necessary to obtain an accurate idea of its own character, and because it illustrates some of the dangers arising from a union of Church and State;—a system extremely valuable, provided the evils which it has in common with all human establishments be, so far as possible, guarded against. Our Church is exposed to a different species of danger, arising from the same cause. We mean the danger of being absorbed into the state. We are so much accustomed to hear of the *Church by law established* that we are in danger of considering her as created by law and existing only by temporal authority. The supremacy of the crown, wrongly understood, tends to strengthen the idea that the Church of England is what she has been injuriously called by Romanists and others,—a *law Church*.

Under this mistaken impression measures have at different times been submitted to the legislature, the effect of which must have been to transfer to certain temporal tribunals, appointed under an act of Parliament, powers which, by the constitution of an Apostolical Church, belong to the order of bishops, and must be exercised either by them or in their name and by their authority.

That episcopal government is the fundamental principle of our

ecclesiastical polity will be denied by no one; but the principle must be reduced to a definite and precise form. Episcopal government is a mere name, unless ecclesiastical power and authority flow from the order of bishops. The Church is not to be governed by the State through the instrumentality of bishops, or partly by means of bishops and partly by magistrates. The Church should be governed by bishops with the assistance of the State. The State has a right to judge what that assistance should be; but if it goes further, the constitution of the Church will be changed, and it will become so far a law Church. The question is not one of more or less interference on the part of the temporal power, but one of principle. We are not speaking of the revenues of the Church, but of what is of infinitely greater importance,—her jurisdiction and her internal government. So little has this subject been considered except with reference to mere temporalities and the convenience of administration, that the Bishop of Exeter's speech in moving the rejection of the Ecclesiastical Discipline Bill took most people by surprise. Some said that his lordship's views were Popish; others that they were dangerous; but few were prepared to go back with him to the institution and authority of Episcopacy, which most people were accustomed to consider as a mere matter of policy or convenience, and not as the visible bond of unity, the fountain of all ecclesiastical authority, and the foundation-stone of ecclesiastical polity.

Much has been said about the property of the Church, while her authority has been comparatively neglected. Church-rates must at all events be preserved, happen what may as regards the judicial power of the bishops. There is a natural tendency this way in the present state of things, resulting from various causes, which must be resisted or the Church will become nothing more than "*an establishment.*" The Church will have reason to envy the Dissenters, if her authority over her own children is assumed or impaired by the law, as if it sprung only from the law, and was not inherent in the very nature of a Church. It is with these views that we shall examine whether the proposed changes in the ecclesiastical jurisdiction are not at variance with the constitution of the Church, and what measures are desirable to place Church judicatures upon a footing in accordance with that constitution, without being dangerous to the state or to liberty of conscience.

No portion of the subjects submitted by the crown to the deliberations of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners is of greater importance both to the Church and to the State than that to which these inquiries belong. The most excellent distribution of revenues, the most judicious definition and arrangement of dio-

ceses and parishes, and the most perfect constitution of benefices, offices and dignities, will be absolutely ineffectual to produce that result at which every good Churchman must aim, unless combined with an efficient system of judicial government, by which alone the discipline of the Church can be maintained in a high and pure state. That some change is requisite in order to secure this object, it is unnecessary to prove by examples. It is sufficiently established by the recorded opinion of the prelates and other learned personages appointed under the Duke of Wellington's administration to report upon the Ecclesiastical Courts. We all know that there are instances of very improper persons continuing to exercise the sacerdotal office because they cannot be removed by their superiors; and the existence of even one of these cases is quite an adequate ground for such changes as would render the jurisdiction of those superiors sufficiently strong to put an end to the evil. But some of the peculiar characteristics of our clergy render an efficient control over them very desirable in less serious matters than actual immorality, or other ecclesiastical crimes and offences. They are independent men of high secular education, frequently of distinguished birth and influential connections, with wives and families, and hardly separated from the laity, among whom they freely mingle in all the pursuits of private and some of public life. They are also surrounded with persons eager to encourage them in breaches of discipline, or in modes of life or habits by no means commendable. All these are circumstances to be guarded against, lest the clergy become secular, and by that means lose part of the respect due to them from the laity.

The Church indeed is in no want of good laws and wholesome precepts against these evils; but there is a defect of means to enforce the former, and of power to render the latter more cogent than mere advice and remonstrance. The power is, it is true, in existence, but cannot be called into effectual operation. It is a power in law, but not a power in fact. Many plans accordingly have been suggested to remedy the defect, but none have met with that general approbation which is necessary for carrying into effect an important measure in a free country. The great defect of them all is, that they deprive the bishops of that jurisdiction inherent in their office and order, which has existed from the Apostolic ages, and which may be demonstrated to be inherent in Episcopacy. A bishop not only has within his diocese a power of administration and of superintendence over his clergy, in addition to the powers *quæ sunt ordinis*, and which belong even to a vacant bishop; but he also possesses

an authority which is called jurisdiction. This authority can be exercised only by or in the name of the episcopal order, because that order are the depositaries of the authority which was vested in the Apostles. It is the power of correction and punishment by means of ecclesiastical censures, and, in the case of beneficed clerks, by deprivation, amotion, or suspension. This power is necessarily exercised after a judicial proceeding before the bishop or before his delegate, but the judicial act must emanate from the bishop. Such is the criminal jurisdiction which every bishop binds himself at his consecration to exercise, and which is in the Consecration Service declared to emanate from the word of God. A bishop exercises jurisdiction by his judge more specially than the crown is said to do through the royal judges, for the bishops are not bound to delegate their judicial power, but may exercise it in person (v. *Gibson, Cod. Prelim. Disc.* p. xxiii.), even after they have delegated it. The jurisdiction is inherent in the bishop, and without it he would be reduced to become an accuser of those whom he would not have the judicial power to absolve or punish. This serious objection to the measures in agitation was most ably and effectively urged by the Bishop of Exeter in his speech in the House of Lords on the 26th July, 1838, which we have prefixed to these remarks. The provisions of the bill on that day defeated by his lordship would have abolished all the Ecclesiastical Courts, including those of York; and concentrated the whole ecclesiastical jurisdiction in one court, to sit permanently in London, and to be composed of three laymen. Now what is a bishop without spiritual jurisdiction, while he himself is amenable to a lay tribunal in the discharge of his duties? Such a bishop would be a mere administrator, and in reality, except as to the temporalities of the see, canonically *vacant*: for he would have the powers only *quæ sunt ordinis*, though they happened to be exercised within a certain territory; and exercised under the control of a tribunal composed of laymen, an Ecclesiastical Court in name only, with appeal to another lay tribunal, namely, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. A bishop thus shorn of his jurisdiction would not have the power of correction and punishment, which can only be exercised by means of a judicial proceeding. He could indeed admonish and reprimand, but he must look for support to another authority, before whom he must become a prosecutor. He would be a public prosecutor, and not a bishop exercising an authority vested in him by the Apostolical constitution of the Church. In fact, the proposal was to constitute a court as a sort of lay bishop to exercise exclusive episcopal jurisdiction over the whole Church within these realms; leaving to the bishops nothing but the administration of

the temporalities of their sees and the power vested in every vacant or titular bishop. Such an extraordinary scheme was probably never propounded in the whole course of ecclesiastical history. Moreover it is in direct contradiction to the words of the Commissioners in their Report upon Ecclesiastical Courts. These words are as follows :—

“ With respect to the tribunal which we recommend, we remark that it will restore to the bishops that personal jurisdiction which they originally exercised, and which was afterwards delegated by them to their chancellors and officials.” “ The doctrine of the Canon Law is, that although the trial of causes of certain descriptions may be properly entrusted to a lay judge, to the bishop himself belongs *inquisitio, correctio, punitio excessuum, seu amotio a beneficio.*”

This opinion of the Commissioners will be found to be borne out by the most unquestionable authority.* In the first centuries of the Church the bishops generally discharged in person all the duties of their office, though there are instances in which they entrusted a portion of their jurisdiction to other hands.† With those few exceptions, there were no vicars-general or officials to bishops, though the archdeacons‡ exercised a portion of the episcopal jurisdiction, until the Council of Lateran held under Innocent III. A. D. 1215, decreed that bishops, when they could not conveniently attend in person to all their duties, might appoint some bishop or priest to exercise jurisdiction in their stead. And after the appointment of vicars-general and officials became prevalent throughout the Church, it was still a principle of the canon law that *inquisitio, correctio, depositio, et punitio*, in a word, ecclesiastical discipline, strictly so called, belonged more especially to the bishop himself than the remainder of his episcopal jurisdiction.§ It was accordingly decreed by Boniface VIII.|| that an official¶

* Hericourt, Loix Eccles. Part I. ch. ii. Van Espen, Par. III. tit. v. § xiii.

† St. Gregory Nazianzen, who was ordained in the year 362, came out of the solitude into which he had retired, to relieve his father from a part of his episcopal duties. St. Basil was entrusted with a portion of the episcopal jurisdiction by Valerius, Bishop of Hippon. St. Augustin, who was ordained in 391, says, in speaking of his appointment as vicar-general, *vis mihi facta est ut secundus locus gubernaculorum mihi traderetur*. Sidonius Apollinaris, died in 480, calls himself *Vicarium in Ecclesiis* to his brother the Bishop of Vienne.—Hericourt, loc. cit. sup.

‡ Van Espen says (Par. I. tit. xii.) that it was not till the twelfth century that the jurisdiction of the archdeacon became an ordinary jurisdiction exercised *jure proprio sive jure dignitatis*. Before that time it was a vicarious or delegated authority, varying in extent in different dioceses, but always exercised *jure officii*. Hericourt and Gibson agree in this with Van Espen. Chaucer affords testimony that in his time the Archdeacon's Court was exceedingly formidable; but it is remarkable that he nowhere hints at any appeal to the bishop. This appears as if the archdeacon was not yet at that time an ordinary judge.

§ Gibson, Codex, Prelim. Disc.

|| Sext. Decret. lib. i. tit. xiii. cap. ii. Licet in officialem.

¶ In Italy there was no distinction between the vicar-general and the official; and

could not, without a special commission, exercise the power *inquirendi, corrigendi, aut puniendi; seu a suis beneficiis, officiis vel administrationibus amovendi*. Gibson, in the preliminary dissertation to his Codex, shows that this law was strictly followed in England, and that the judicial power of ecclesiastical discipline was always held to be so particularly personal to the bishop, that it was always, if possible, to be exercised by himself, whereas the other portions of his jurisdiction were more properly, and indeed invariably, exercised by delegation. Upon this principle, correction, or the power of ecclesiastical discipline, cannot by the canon law be intrusted to the hands of the official, where the official is distinct from the vicar-general. That branch of the episcopal jurisdiction can be delegated to no officer but the vicar-general, who is more particularly the representative of the bishop.* By the canons of the Church of England, promulgated in 1603,† it was further enacted, that no sentence of deprivation should be pronounced against any beneficed priest, except by the bishop himself.

This historical review of laws and authorities shows how ancient and well established a principle of ecclesiastical public law that is, which the bills lately proposed to parliament would, if they had been passed, have subverted, by taking from the bishops the guardianship of the discipline of the Church within their dioceses. It has been shown that it is the policy of the ecclesiastical public law that the bishop should if possible exercise this branch of his jurisdiction in person, and that it is a jurisdiction peculiarly inherent in the episcopal office; but by the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction Bill not only was the converse of that principle to be made the law of the land, but the bishops were not even to delegate their authority, which was to be transferred to a single lay tribunal constituted by act of parliament, and of a nature hitherto perfectly unknown in the annals of the Church,—a tribunal deriving its power not from the Church but from the State.

The *principle* which we are asserting is certainly admirably calculated to carry into effect the ancient rule of the Church, that scandal is studiously to be avoided. It is a rule not only of policy but of Christian charity. It is one reason of the injunction in the Gospel to rebuke a sinner in private before he is publicly called to account.‡ Now if the bishop is clothed with the criminal jurisdiction proper to his office, how much more effectual

in that sense the Decretal of Pope Boniface must be understood. Hericourt, p. 194. Adde Lancelot, Inst. Jur. Canon. lib. i. tit. xv. Pr. et ibi Doujatii, n. In Italy, however, the ecclesiastical judge is never a layman.

* Hericourt, p. 194.

† Gibson, Codex, tit. xlv. chap. ix. Vide Haggard, Eccl. Rep.

‡ Vid. St. Augustin, ap. Gratian, Can. Si peccaverit, 2, ii. Quest. 1.

must his censure be, than it could be if the offender knew that no punishment could fall upon him, except after a tedious process in a comparatively distant tribunal, before which he would meet his superior almost on equal terms, as a defendant meets a plaintiff? Such a relative position of the bishop and clergyman cannot be too much avoided. It is not perhaps sufficiently guarded against at present. Bishops sometimes seem to forget that their order is the fountain of ecclesiastical judicial power; and that the judges are but their representatives. If this principle was more prominently brought forward, a greater degree of authority would be exercised at visitations: and episcopal admonitions on those occasions would acquire a weight, which they have not at present, because there is a habit of considering the Ecclesiastical Court as independent of and distinct from the bishop, whereas it exercises his authority at his will and as his representative.

But, whatever be the defects of episcopal practice at present, the greatest scandal must result, in the event of the proposed changes, in the case of a stubborn offender, from the impotency of the ecclesiastical superior. Such a person would indulge in a hope that the court in London would differ with the bishop,—that criminal proceedings would not be commenced or would not be persevered in;—or he would please himself with the feeling that if compelled by a judicial sentence to give way, he would be saved the humiliation of succumbing to the authority of a superior, who would probably be personally obnoxious to his pride and selfwill. How much better too than any distant tribunal must the bishop be able to appreciate the degree of the offence, the evidence and all the circumstances of the case! The common law requires that crime should come under the cognizance of the persons who, from their vicinity to the place where it was committed, are supposed to be the most competent judges of the matter; but that principle applies with greater force to ecclesiastical offences, which in many cases depend entirely upon the circumstances attending the act alleged to be culpable. It must not be forgotten that the jurisdiction of the prelates, touching matters of discipline, partakes of the nature of a censorship, which cannot and ought not to be confined within the narrow limits of statutes and precedents.

Moreover, it is easy to foresee cases in which the proposed Central Ecclesiastical Court would certainly prove no safe depository of the discipline of the Church. It is difficult to speculate what might be the notions on Church government of two or three lawyers appointed (as it is recommended in the report of

the Commissioners that all ecclesiastical judges should be) by the minister of the day, and who would probably be ignorant of that subject, except so far as it is contained in a few acts of parliament and reported cases. Such a court would probably become yearly less and less ecclesiastical; common law and equity would by degrees supersede the ancient jurisprudence of the Church; and the whole system of the rules of ecclesiastical polity would be neglected or gradually set aside. Perhaps this would lead to the total suppression of the Ecclesiastical Court, and the transfer of its jurisdiction to the lay tribunals: but however this may be, it is evident that the proposed change would lead to the Church ultimately falling entirely under the government of the temporal law. The great quantity of statute law lately enacted, principally at the recommendation of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, of itself has a manifest and direct tendency to place the Church more and more under the control of the courts of common law. The ecclesiastical law is gradually becoming statute law, and consequently subject to the rules of the temporal courts. It therefore is the more necessary to protect the jurisdiction or judicial power of the Church from being overwhelmed by the State. Such a result would be fatal to the Church as a body politic and as an establishment. The ecclesiastical law is directed towards objects foreign to the policy of the temporal law, and founded upon principles which form no part of the professional education of common law lawyers. However obnoxious to condemnation certain parts of the canon law may be, it cannot be denied that it is a system of great antiquity, formed from the Scriptures and the writings of great Fathers of the Church: moulded upon the principles of the Gospel; and adapted by men of great policy, judgment, and wisdom, (qualities which have never been denied to the rulers of the Church of Rome,) to the government of the clergy and their congregations. Moreover, it is a system deeply rooted in the Established Church. It is evident that when by the destruction of the episcopal jurisdiction or judicial power the fundamental principle of the ecclesiastical law is obliterated, and when the tribunals by which that law is administered are dissevered from the Church, the whole system must be shaken to the very foundations. The laws of the Church will be subverted, and a new system will gradually be formed by the decisions of the statutory Ecclesiastical Court.

The proposed appointment of the ecclesiastical judges by the crown, would be just as subversive of the present relation of the Church to the State, as the election of the common law judges by the houses of parliament would be destructive of the equi-

brium of the constitution. Chillingworth wisely observes that to obtain the power of interpreting the law is to acquire a mastery over the law,—to rule the laws by lawyers. How then can the Church be safe if the interpretation of her laws is placed in the hands of judges appointed by the State? To give to the State the sole power of interpreting the laws of the Church, must destroy her independence and her character. It may be argued indeed that as the lay judges are independent of the crown, so the ecclesiastical judges should be independent of the Church. But the cases are not parallel. The former need not always coincide in opinion with the crown; but the latter simply represent that of the Church, and must express it, otherwise the laity will not know whether to obey the Church or her judges. An Episcopalian must see the importance of not allowing any infringement of the principle that the Church is to be governed by bishops, and that ecclesiastical discipline must emanate from the episcopal order. It is true that the coercive power or *imperium* is by grant from the civil to the ecclesiastical power: but the judicial authority of the bishop or spiritual jurisdiction is independent of the temporal power. This distinction is recognized in the service of consecration of bishops. "Will you . . . such as be unquiet, disobedient, and criminous within your diocese, correct, and punish according to such authority as you have by God's Word, and as to you shall be committed by the ordinance of this realm?" Here the authority springing from God's Word is recognized, and then another authority is mentioned as committed by the ordinance of this realm to the bishop. Now suppose the state to fall into heathenism, the latter authority would be taken from the bishop, but the former must nevertheless remain inviolate. The spiritual or purely ecclesiastical authority existed while the Church was not only without the sanction but under the persecution of the civil government.* Some of our readers may start at the abstract proposition that the authority of the Church is independent of the temporal law; but supposing the law to declare Unitarianism or Socinianism to be the established religion,—that would not absolve the members of our Church from their religious obligations. Such a change could not in any way affect the abstract truth of our religious belief, or the constitution of our Church, so far as regards the authority of bishops, priests, and deacons. This is claiming no more for our Church than the Dissenters demand for their religious communities. If the independence of the Church is not recognised, where is the supremacy of the temporal power to stop? If the law should enact

* Hericourt, Par. I. chap. i.

that priests are to be ordained by the freeholders at a county court instead of by the bishops, ought we to submit? Would the Presbyterians of Scotland submit to a law commanding them to receive bishops? Thus the principle which we are vindicating is that of liberty of conscience. If a Churchman says that he cannot conscientiously obey a law, he is vituperated; and yet a Dissenter is applauded when he protests that it hurts his conscience to pay church rates or tithes! The temporal power is not the source of ecclesiastical authority, but only enforces or assists the spiritual jurisdiction, which would be unable alone to overcome the stubbornness of offenders. The temporal government also has a species of supremacy over the Church establishment in virtue of its sovereignty over all persons and things within the territory over which it is placed; and we find many examples and authorities showing the power which Christian* princes have at all times exercised in Church government. But where the Church and the State are connected together, the State must lend its assistance to enforce the authority of the Church, and the temporal sovereignty cannot supersede that authority, but should respect its independence; only exercising the supremacy to which we have just alluded, so far as is necessary to maintain the integrity of the sovereign power of the State, the nature of which requires that it should be over all persons within the realm supreme. Now for the State to take into its own hand the whole jurisdiction of the Church would be a violation of the principles by which the union of Church and State is governed.

Even supposing the judges of the proposed ecclesiastical court were to be appointed by the Primate of all England, the arguments which we have already adduced against depriving the bishops of the jurisdiction inherent in their office would be fully applicable. To make his grace the ordinary of every diocese in the kingdom would be a change subversive of the ancient constitution† of the Christian Church, detrimental to the authority which a bishop ought to have for the due government of his clergy, and tending to bring episcopal government into disrepute and decay. Besides, this jurisdiction would still be a parliamentary and not an ecclesiastical one. The civil power would not enforce and assist the spiritual authority, but would create a totally new jurisdiction. However, no one can think that there is any chance of the House of Commons allowing the Archbishop of Canterbury to have the appointment of the judges of the proposed supreme and exclusive court, particularly as the Commissioners recom-

* Vide Palmer's *Orig. Liturgicæ*, vol. ii. pp. 3, 4, 5.

† Vide Van Espen, *Par. III. tit. x.*

mended that the ecclesiastical judges should be appointed by the crown. It would indeed be making the primate more than a patriarch, and investing him with greater power than the Archbishops of Canterbury possessed when they were legates of Rome.

The measures proposed to parliament in the years 1836 and 1837, were less objectionable than the bill which we have been discussing. They were to a great degree in accordance with the recommendation of the Commissioners, to which we have already referred; but after they had been discussed and amended, it appeared clearly that there would be no chance of their passing both Houses. They were consequently allowed to die a natural death. Though those measures preserved the jurisdiction of the bishops over their clergy, yet as amended they both were liable to serious objections. The bishops were, by the provisions of both those bills, to hear and determine questions in open court, assisted by an assessor, who might be either a civilian or a barrister of ten years' standing. Now anybody acquainted with the exclusive and narrow province to which each branch of the bar confine themselves, must see at once the absurdity of appointing a barrister to be assessor of a bishop. A barrister must be to a great degree in the hands of the advocates at the bar, and his habits in the practice of the English law must (especially if he is a conveyancer or a *visi prius* counsel) disqualify him for the functions of an ecclesiastical judge. So far from being qualified to be an adviser, he would require advice himself, and he would probably go to a civilian or proctor for an opinion before he ventured to give counsel to the bishop. But the adviser of the assessor would give his opinion without having heard the arguments at the bar. It might probably happen that, the assessor being a common lawyer, the parties would employ barristers instead of advocates, because the former would be most likely to influence the judge by addressing themselves to principles and illustrations with which he must be familiar. The consequence would be, that the decision would contain as little ecclesiastical law as the nature of the subject-matter would admit of; unless the assessor should rely principally upon advice procured by himself extrajudicially. Yet it is obvious that many reasons, both public and private, would, if the law permitted such a thing, occasion the appointment of barristers and serjeants-at-law to be assessors of bishops.

Another part of these bills, as they were amended, provided that the bishop should be assisted in the discharge of his judicial functions by a jury of clergymen. The first and obvious objection to this provision is, that such a form of judica-

ture would be a very great innovation in Church government. The bishops, it is true, acted with the advice of their clergy in the earlier ages,* and in later times with that of their chapter; but the functions exercised by those advisers were very inferior to those of a jury; who by returning a general verdict may decide on the law as well as the fact of the case submitted to them. It is evident that the jury and not the bishop would be the real depositaries of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This would be the more inevitable, because the bishop would in most cases not be very well able to charge the jury in such a manner as effectually to guide them in their decision, and if a lawyer were to be called in to perform that important function, the bishop would be reduced to a mere cypher. The result would be that the episcopal jurisdiction would fall into decay, and be transferred to the order of presbyters. But there are other and more practical objections to trial by jury in the ecclesiastical courts. To remove a number of the parochial clergy from their homes for an indefinite period would produce great expense and inconvenience to them, as well as interruption to their duties. If the clergy of the neighbourhood were summoned to try an accused clerk, it would be objected that they must be in the habit of some degree of intimacy with him, and were biassed in his favour at least by a sort of feeling of brotherhood. In other cases there might be a strong feeling among the neighbouring clergy against the accused person, because they conceived him to be a discredit to their body, because he had taken a part in politics or in religion adverse to their views, or on account of his general unpopularity among his brethren. If clerical jurymen were summoned from a distant part of the diocese, these objections would still apply, and the inconvenience and expense to which they would be subjected would be materially increased. It is certainly doubtful whether the public would feel as much confidence in the decision of men belonging to a body very limited in number, respecting one of their brethren, as in that of a superior whose very station would afford an earnest of his impartiality, and at the same time inance his feeling of a responsibility which he must bear alone. It is evident that the clergy are not a sufficiently numerous body to afford those guarantees which form the great advantage of trial by jury over the civil law procedure.

The best arguments in favour of trial by jury are more political than juridical, and they are not applicable to the constitution of the clergy, who are a body of men bound by a vow of obedience to their superiors, and subjected to more rigorous and ex-

* Hericourt, Par. I. chap. i.

tensive obligations than those which the temporal law imposes upon the laity, without any right of calling those superiors to account, or of controlling them in the exercise of their authority. Besides, the secular courts sufficiently secure the civil and political rights of the clergy, and the ecclesiastical courts not only are under the control of the lay tribunals when they exceed the bounds of their jurisdiction, but are constantly liable to the searching, jealous, and even hostile scrutiny of public opinion. These reasons seem quite sufficient to reject trial by jury in the courts of ecclesiastical discipline as inconvenient, prejudicial, and useless.

A portion of the subject yet remains to be considered, which, though collateral to our object, is of too great moment to be neglected.

If the ecclesiastical courts, with one or two exceptions, are abolished, and lawyers who are not civilians are admitted to the administration of the ecclesiastical law, there will, in a few years, be no civilians deserving that name. The emoluments of the learned doctors are notoriously small, and it is surely unfair that the other branches of the legal profession should be admitted to wrest from them the fruits of their seven years initiation, and of the large outlay of money to which they have been obliged by the rules of the Universities and Doctors Commons. All those who are acquainted with the subject are well aware that the emoluments arising from the offices, for which they are alone qualified, are an important part of the income of a civilian, yet those emoluments are small, and there are but three or four out of the whole college whose professional income can be compared with that of successful barristers. It must be evident to every one who considers the narrow field which the civilians have open to them, that their very existence depends upon their monopoly of certain offices, and at the bar of certain courts. This very monopoly, be it remembered, does not extend to the bar of the Privy Council, even in ecclesiastical and admiralty matters. The extinction of a body of men, set apart and trained as the judges, delegates, and advocates of the Church, the advisers of her rulers and the expounder of her laws, would of course be a matter of much more than doubtful expediency. But how can the government obtain advice and assistance respecting questions of international law, which are constantly arising out of our intercourse, commercial and political, in peace and war, with other states, if there are not men at hand trained to a knowledge of that system of jurisprudence to which all civilized nations constantly profess to conform, in their relations with each other? Every nation is anxious at least to appear to act in accordance with justice and

international law, and strenuously endeavours, for the sake of its position among nations, and credit with other countries, especially its allies, to exculpate itself from the charge of violating either. Hence the science of international law is necessary in framing treaties, manifestoes, and other state papers, as well as in all the transactions between nations in peace and war; and that state which can bring into the field the most able advocates and advisers, must have a decided advantage over the others. These considerations are of peculiar importance to this empire, on account of the extent of its territory and commerce, which bring it into relation with almost every nation in the world. If the civilians are so discouraged as they would be by these supposed reforms of the ecclesiastical courts, men of talent and learning will not enter into that profession, and there will soon be no one left properly qualified to perform the duties of her majesty's Advocate General, or to preside in a court of international or maritime law. Our country will then never produce another Stowell, and his seat will be filled by some ignorant and inferior person, on whom the robe of a civilian will be a mere masquerading disguise.

All the measures suggested by the Commissioners narrow the jurisdiction of the civil law courts: such, among others, is the proposed enactment transferring to a common law judge at Nisi Prius matters hitherto assigned to those courts. The civil law stood greatly in need of encouragement before. But a few more breaches are required to ruin the whole structure, and to dry up within this country that fountain of justice of which Hale, Holt, Mansfield and Grant have spoken with such admiration; the production of two thousand years' toil, and the guide of almost all nations in Europe,

We have purposely avoided scrutinizing the details of the measures brought forward to improve the ecclesiastical courts, because their very fundamental principles seem to us highly objectionable, for the reasons which we have attempted to explain. When the fundamental principles of ecclesiastical jurisdiction are fully developed, and if the true spirit of ecclesiastical public law is carefully kept in view, there cannot be much difficulty in arriving at a satisfactory result in the improvement of the discipline and judicature of the Church.

The greatest fault of the present system of Courts Christian is, the multiplication of small courts, and of steps of appeal; but this subject has been satisfactorily dealt with by the Commissioners, who recommend the abolition of all but the courts of the Archdeacon, Bishop, and Archbishop. They also recommend the transfer of the greater part of the mere secular portion of the

ecclesiastical jurisdiction to the archiepiscopal courts. So far the principle of consolidation may be good, but there does not appear to be any sufficient ground for the attacks which have been made upon the very existence of the diocesan courts. The proceedings of those courts might easily be improved by the following expedient which has been suggested :—All the pleadings* should be signed by a doctor, in the same manner as those of the lay courts are by counsel. Thus all the preparatory part of the proceeding would be conducted in London in the same manner as common law business, and when the cause was ripe for hearing, the judge and counsel would go down to the country, unless it was most convenient that the case should be heard and decided in town. This plan, which is applicable both to criminal and to civil cases, would at once remove the only valid objections to the diocesan courts. The proceedings would then be regular, accurate, expeditious, and therefore comparatively cheap. An examination of the present system will show that the ecclesiastical courts are not more expensive than the others, except in certain cases where they are irregularly or vexatiously conducted, and such abuses are as easily prevented in the civil as in the common law courts, and by the same means.† The proceedings of the diocesan courts being thus made regular, by being conducted by and under the responsibility of the first members of the profession, proceedings by letters of request would become unnecessary. The improvement of the pleadings would of course reduce the extent and expense of the depositions by clearly ascertaining what points were in dispute, and thus narrowing the subject of inquiry. This change, by bringing the whole business of pleading to Doctors' Commons, would probably lead to the learned civilians drawing their own pleadings, instead of leaving that important duty to the proctors. It is obvious that this would be an improvement of the greatest consequence.

One of the greatest difficulties in improving the ecclesiastical courts is, that the means of remunerating the judges are very insufficient. Parliament might be required to supply the defect : but the Church has in her own hands some means of maintaining

* The pleadings, in legal language, are not the arguments of counsel, but the mutual altercations of the plaintiff and defendant in writing, by means of which the court is informed what is in dispute between the parties, and what points are admitted or denied on either side. The next thing is to receive evidence and hear arguments on it, if the question is one of fact; or to examine laws and authorities as well as hear arguments on them, if a point of law is in dispute.

† It has lately appeared in the public reports of proceedings in the Arches Court, that the costs incurred by Mrs. Woolfray, in the case of *Brecks v. Woolfray*, amounted only to 13*l.*, though two counsel were employed and the case was removed by letters of request from Winchester to Canterbury.

an efficient body of persons qualified to serve her at the bar, on the bench, and in the chamber. Wykeham, Wolsey, Chicheley and Waynefleet, as well as many others of her most distinguished prelates, were zealous supporters of the civil and canon law. Their foundations yet remain, but their favourite jurisprudence no longer reaps the benefit of their munificence. The venerable bodies who acknowledge those prelates for their founders will, no doubt, see that they instituted law fellowships for the purpose of encouraging the cultivation of the civil and canon law, and that the fellows merely taking a law degree is not sufficient to fulfil their intention. They no doubt were actuated by motives of church policy. As ecclesiastical statesmen, they felt the importance of encouraging and supporting a body of men qualified to administer the laws of the Church. They saw that but for such support and encouragement the civil and canon law must by degrees fall into decay. They were anxious to foster the faculty of law, as an essential part of every University, and as necessary for the maintenance of good government in the Church. Now, if it were to be made a rule at both Universities that every civil law-fellowship or studentship falling vacant should be conferred upon a member of the College of Civilians, or at least upon some person intended for the civil law bar, the intention of the founders would be fulfilled and some remuneration would be secured to that body.*

It has sometimes been doubted whether the ordinance or mandate of King James abolishing degrees and lectures in canon law in the Universities ought not to be repealed. The canon law is still the law of our Church, with certain restrictions. There can be no valid reason why, with those necessary limitations, the canon law should not still be taught, since the Church now professes to follow that law so far as it is not at variance with the Thirty-nine Articles and the law of the land. It would certainly be desirable that all the clergy holding dignities should know at least as much of canon law as they could learn by attending a course of lectures, which would enable them afterwards to go further in that study. If candidates for holy orders were recommended to attend a course of lectures on canon and perhaps civil law, as is the practice on the Continent, there would soon be churchmen much more fit for the administration of a

* If a statute were made enabling ecclesiastical judges to hold more than one of those fellowships at the same time, an inducement would be held out to competent persons to accept ecclesiastical judgeships. This, however, is thrown out merely as a suggestion. It will, we believe, be found that there is nothing in the statutes of the founders, in most cases, to prevent two fellowships being held together. Where such plurality would be contrary to the express intention of the founder, our proposal could not be adopted; but where it would not be so, certainly the general intention would be furthered by allowing that privilege to persons serving the Church as judges.

diocese, and also more fully acquainted with ecclesiastical history, policy, and government, than they could possibly be without such a study. The law professors at the Universities would then have no difficulty in forming a class; and their lectures might be made an introduction to the study of ecclesiastical history, antiquities, and the ritual;—branches of learning which have been much neglected, and, though reviving, stand in need of encouragement. The present circumstances of the Church are such as to render it evident that more is to be required of those among the clergy, who are not merely parish priests in retired villages, than the divinity which they must learn to take their degree and pass their examination before the bishop's chaplain. Now the canon law is an excellent introduction to every branch of learning which can be required to make a most accomplished churchman. We mean even such a general knowledge of canon law as may be acquired by reading the two little 8vos. of Lancelottus and the two 12mos. of Fleuri. The works of our older divines abundantly show their learning in that law which the Church has ever protected and encouraged.

If the clergy gave themselves to the study of the law, the office of vicar-general might with advantage be separated from that of official principal, and the former entrusted to a priest, according to the ancient practice. Where, however, the vicar-general is a layman, the bishop ought to hear and determine, with his assistance, any charges against clergymen, subject to an appeal to the Archbishop, and then to the Queen in Council. The bishop should of course retain the power of calling for the assistance of other assessors, besides his vicar-general or chancellor, or instead of that officer, when his attendance may be inconvenient. It would be a question whether there should be more than one step of appeal. On one side the ablest jurists have held that two steps of appeal are most desirable; while, on the other, there is the consideration of the expense and delay of an intermediate court. The question requires much consideration.

Another difficulty is, to render the jurisdiction of the bishop efficient without placing it in the power of malicious persons to annoy innocent men with frivolous or false charges. The canon law itself will here give us effectual assistance. An inquisitorial proceeding should be instituted* before the rural dean, arch-deacon, or some other person delegated *ad hoc* by the bishop, previously to the accused person being put upon his final trial. This proceeding is analogous to that of a grand jury in

* Van Espen, Par. III. tit. vii. §§ xiv. xix. xxiii.

the common law. The inquisition should be conducted, unless the accused person wishes otherwise, with the utmost secrecy,* that his reputation may be spared, if possible, until there is a judgment against him. Then if the inquisitor finds that there are grounds for the accusation, denunciation, or public report against the accused, he will return the inquisition to the bishop, that the further proceedings may be commenced either at the instance of the accuser, or by the bishop *ex officio*, as the case may be. The court should also have power, besides awarding costs, to punish the accuser or denunciator, where he appears guilty of calumny, by fine or imprisonment :† and it must always be proved, that the accuser or denunciator gave previous warning to the accused, so that he may have an opportunity of amending his conduct, or justifying himself before any actual proceedings are commenced against him. The expenses of these proceedings, if the ecclesiastical judges were adequately provided for, might be quite as small as they ought to be, but it is obvious that they should not be made too cheap. It would also be a matter of deliberation, whether, when the prosecution is by accusation,‡ the accuser should not be bound to give security for payment, not only of costs but of a fine, in case the court should think fit to inflict one upon him. It would, however, be competent for the bishop to dismiss the accuser, and to proceed *ex officio*, as if upon a denunciation. Great scandal and evil have sometimes arisen from irregularity, misconduct, or immorality not being checked early. Hence it is that care should be taken to provide for cases that are not extreme. This object is attained by the inquisition previous to the actual prosecution of the alleged offender. The inquisition would be easily and speedily instituted, though at the peril of the accuser or denunciator. It might, where the bishop thought fit, be summary; and might end merely in an admonition from the inquisitor or the bishop. Thus an early notice of irregularities or offences would be easily insured, without any danger of oppression, and they might be stopped before they had become very scandalous.

* Van Espen, tit. cit. sup. § xli.

† Van Espen, tit. cit. § xiv. ; Lancelot, Inst. lib. iv. tit. i. § i. ; St. Matt. ch. xviii.

‡ Three modes of prosecution were prescribed by the Council of Lateran, held under Innocent III. namely, *Accusation*, *Denunciation*, and *Inquisition*, cap. 24. X. *de Accusat.* The previous inquisition, analogous to an inquest of a grand jury, is applicable to each of these three modes of prosecution. In some countries accusation is abolished as a distinct mode of prosecution, that is to say, when an accusation is brought, the judge receives the articles, and proceeds upon them *ex officio*. The accuser is then *functus officio*, and becomes a denunciator. There are certain rules in the canon and civil law, without the observance of which an inquisition is voidable. It was by being free from these rules, as well as supreme, that the Venetian Inquisition of State was rendered so arbitrary and oppressive.

Another mode of proceeding should be placed in the hands of the bishops, upon the foregoing principles. The bishop should be empowered to require the absence from his benefice of an incumbent who had been guilty of misconduct, and to appoint, on the nomination of the patron, a person to do the duty in the meanwhile. Where a curate was required to be absent, the substitute should be appointed by the parson. This power should be exercised after an inquisition, and where the inquisition was founded upon an accusation or denunciation, the accuser or denunciator should show that he had given previous warning to the supposed delinquent, according to the charitable provisions of the canon law. The inquisition should be conducted with secrecy, and in a summary manner, or it should be omitted where the incumbent was willing to acquiesce at once in the episcopal injunction. The effect of this proceeding would, in many cases, be that the incumbent would after a temporary absence resume his functions in a manner advantageous to himself and to the people. Animosities would have cooled; scandal would have been forgotten or weakened; and differences would have been healed or compromised: whereas had things been allowed to remain as they were, evil would have increased because its roots were not cut, and that which might have been easily remedied if taken in time would probably have become a serious scandal requiring the exercise of great severity. The clergyman so enjoined to absent himself should however have the option of submitting without reserve, or of bringing the matter to trial within a fixed time. This he might do by taking exceptions to the inquisition, or by praying either that articles might be exhibited or that the bishop might proceed *ex officio* against him in the Diocesan Court. This proceeding is in strict accordance with the principles of the Canon Law. The power with which we propose to invest the bishop may be deduced from the oath of canonical obedience which every priest takes at his ordination. That power may be argued to exist at present, and only requires regulation to become an important means of enforcing the laws of the Church.

We shall perhaps be accused of planning a scheme of episcopal tyranny, and the same spirit that suggested the introduction of juries in Courts Christian may probably attack the very root of all the foregoing arguments. But what is the principle on which practically all Church discipline rests? It is obedience. Without obedience unity cannot be maintained; dissensions and differences must be interminable, and the Church must gradually change its character. It must become a body of persons sanctioned and supported by law, but not governed ac-

cording to its ancient apostolical constitution, which certainly inculcates a spirit of diffidence calculated to render the clergy desirous of obeying their superiors, if possible, even by sacrificing their own opinions or feelings where they can do so with a safe conscience. We do not speak of blind or passive obedience, but of a willingness and desire to obey, and a reluctance to oppose authority, which constitute rational and conscientious obedience. But what hardship is there in the necessity of obeying ecclesiastical superiors? The clergy are not a body in which a man is enlisted without an exercise of free will. A man is not born a priest as he is born an Englishman or a Frenchman; and though orders are indelible yet a clergyman may, if he pleases, relieve himself from all the duties of the priesthood except that of setting a good example of morality and piety to others. It has been argued by very high authority that the arbitrary strictness of military discipline is not inconsistent with the constitution of a free state, because enlistment is purely voluntary. This argument applies with greater force to the churchman, whose canonical yoke is freedom itself when compared with the bondage of the soldier, and who engages in his profession at a more mature age and with greater deliberation.

Every man voluntarily entering into a body becomes by his own act and consent bound by its laws, and it follows that general principles of liberty, individual or political, cannot be applicable to the Church. Civil constitutions not despotic are grounded on distrust of power, and calculated for the restraint of men in whom it is vested, by the responsibility of governor even to the governed, and by the limitations of laws administered by a separate body of functionaries: but ecclesiastical polity being founded on the divine institution of apostolical authority uninterruptedly transmitted to the rulers of the Church, is, from its very nature, constructed on different principles; for the ecclesiastical governing power springs from that institution and not from human arbitrary laws or the consent of the majority. It follows that ecclesiastical polity does not admit of a balance of power, properly so called, because all power is by divine right vested in the governors. Restraints then upon ecclesiastical heads must be merely calculated to afford security against their liability to sin and error. They cannot be grounded on a balance of power between the governors and the governed. But independently of these arguments, how can the discipline of the Church be maintained without strictness and a strong governing power? The whole course of ecclesiastical history and all the writers on Church polity unanimously teach us that both are necessary. Why is every priest sworn at his ordination to obey his superiors in all things

lawful? It is evident that without obedience the government of the Church and consequently her very existence, except as a name or a party watchword, must in time cease. No doubt the clergy are and should be willing to submit even to overstrictness on the part of their superiors rather than that the discipline of the Church should be in any degree impaired. It ill becomes a churchman to look upon his superiors with suspicion, and to wish their authority limited that he may be able to indulge his weaknesses, or to exalt his own notions above the laws of that Church of which he is a sworn member. How can he expect the laity to respect him and to conform to his teaching if he does not readily obey his superiors, but looks upon them as being willing to tyrannize over him? What probability is there that the bishops would oppress their clergy even if they had the power of doing so? The character of the prelates, their office, the publicity of their function, the checks of public opinion and the press, as well as dissent, are sufficient guarantees against the possibility of their misusing their power except through errors of judgment, to which all men are liable. If there should be anything amiss in the bishop's decision it might be rectified by appeal.

We have already said that it would be a question whether more than one step of appeal should be allowed; but it will not be doubted that there should be but one court of last resort in every case, namely, the Queen in Council; a tribunal holding the place and discharging the functions of the High Court of Delegates, which was abolished a few years ago. Ecclesiastical appeals are now decided on by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, or, to speak more technically, by the Queen with the advice of the committee. The only fault that can be found with that assembly as an ecclesiastical court is, that it is composed exclusively of laymen. This was no doubt an oversight on the part of those who framed the act by which the Judicial Committee was constituted, for the Court of Delegates always included ecclesiastics, of whom indeed it was originally entirely composed;* and it is manifestly absurd that the clergy should be excluded from the highest ecclesiastical tribunal. This absurdity will be exhibited in a striking point of view, should the case of *Breeks v. Woolfray*, which has made so much noise, be

* Ecclesiastical appeals were by the first statute of Hen. VIII. on that subject to be carried to the Upper House of Convocation. That statute was repealed by the Statute of Appeals, 25 Hen. VIII., c. 19, by which the High Court of Delegates was constituted. No laymen were put in the commission of delegates before 1604, seventy years after the erection of the court. From 1604 to 1639 there was only one layman to forty clerical delegates. From the latter time the proportion of laymen increased. — *Gibson, Cod. Prelim. Disc. XXI.*

carried by appeal before the Privy Council. That case turning entirely upon the question whether prayers for the dead are or are not contrary to the doctrines of the Established Church, will then be decided in last resort, without a single bishop, priest, or deacon of that Church having any voice in the decision. In cases of trial of clergymen for preaching or teaching doctrines at variance with those of the Church, this absurdity would be as glaring and perhaps more pernicious. But upon the most general principles it is evident that no ecclesiastical appeal should be decided without the assistance of a prelate. There are at present but three prelates in the Privy Council, and it would be necessary to add several more, according to the ancient practice, giving them all seats in the Judicial Committee, to render that assembly an unexceptionable ecclesiastical tribunal.

Such are the outlines of the system of Church judicature which appears to us the most desirable. Our great principle is to adhere to the ancient constitution of the Church, which is a body of so peculiar a nature that it does not admit of institutions that are most useful in temporal concerns. It is easy to devise a system of courts and rules of procedure, which may perform their functions in a satisfactory practical way. But in ecclesiastical polity there are ulterior views and higher principles which deserve paramount attention. The danger most to be avoided is that of taking a narrow or too *practical* view of the subject. All the church discipline bills hitherto proposed are obnoxious to this imputation. They were framed by practical men with the same views as if they were intended for the reform of county courts or courts of requests, and the prelates were induced to acquiesce as a mere matter of course, because the subject was represented to them as one merely technical.

The framers of those bills never looked beyond the four corners of the record. They thought nothing of impairing the authority of the bishops over their clergy, subjecting to decay the ecclesiastical law and its professors, breaking in upon the principle of episcopal government, and subverting the form of Church judicature as it had existed for so many centuries. They thought nothing of extinguishing international law among us, and thereby rendering us unable to treat as a civilized nation in peace and war with other civilized nations. The first person who opened the eyes of our legislators on this subject was the Bishop of Exeter, and his lordship certainly performed good service to his country in so doing. The primate was no doubt prevented by his laborious duties from perceiving the objections to the bill, and relied upon the judgment of others, whom his grace probably supposed were most competent, being lawyers, to give an opinion

on the subject. The bishops generally were reluctant to seem desirous of retaining or receiving powers, which were the only obstacle to a measure pressed upon them by apparently competent judges as a great practical improvement.

Let us hope that they have had time to consider the ultimate tendency of the Ecclesiastical Discipline Bill, and that they now see the mischief of legislating on Church government with narrow and technical views. Let us also hope that this question will be considered without reference to party politics. It is a question for the Church and within the Church, therefore no Dissenter can have any interest in it. As for mere party-men, they, whatever their opinions may be, need care still less about the subject. However this matter may be settled, no party will thereby gain or lose a single vote in the House of Commons. Those who attack the abuses of the Church, and profess to wish for improvements, ought not to object to a measure the very object of which is to ensure a uniform and exact discharge of duty on the part of the clergy. Whenever a scandal or an irregularity appears in the Church, it is published and magnified, and a cry is raised against the Bishops. Surely then it is but just and consistent to give the governors of the Church that power without which they cannot prevent the evils for which they are constantly made responsible by the press and public opinion. Those who are most jealous of ecclesiastical power can have no objection to the measures that we propose, confined as they are within the Church, and affecting the clergy only. We have purposely avoided touching upon ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the laity, that we might not mix up that upon which, as far as regards the end to be attained, all parties ought to agree, with a question of vast difficulty and one liable to be considered in a manner diametrically opposite by persons of different political and religious sentiments. Whether that jurisdiction which, though of Roman origin, is retained by the Presbyterians of Scotland and the Protestants of Germany, ought, according to the recommendations of the Commissioners, to be abolished in the Church of England, is a grave question well worthy of consideration. It would also be a curious matter of inquiry how indictments for brawling in a consecrated place, or other offences against the sacredness of public worship, might be dealt with by juries at quarter-sessions, to whom the Commissioners propose transferring that branch of ecclesiastical criminal jurisdiction. It may be argued (though with what degree of force we will not attempt to decide) that the disuse of auricular confession is a reason in favour of maintaining the criminal jurisdiction of the Church over all her children as a *tribunal pœnitentiæ*; that such discipline must be highly advantageous to public and private

morals; and that it would be specially useful among the rural population as an assistance to the authority of the parochial clergy, who, where they have not the support of the landed proprietors, are liable to be set at defiance by persons grossly and notoriously debauched, but sufficiently cautious to keep clear of an indictment or an information. These views accord with the opinion held by many Whigs as well as Conservatives that there is a something wanting in the powers of governing the people;—an incompleteness and insufficiency in authority, which are among the greatest defects of our present condition. Whether the principle of ecclesiastical authority may not be requisite to fill up this void, is a question of equal importance and interest.

- ART. VII.—1. *The Authority of Tradition in Matters of Religion.* By the Rev. George Holden, M. A. Rivingtons. 1838.
 2. *Not Tradition, but Revelation (or Scripture).* By Philip N. Shuttleworth, D.D. Rivingtons. 1838.
 3. *The Judgment of the Anglican Church, &c.* By John Fuller Russell, S.C.L. Bailey. 1838.
 4. *Tradition Unveiled.* By the Rev. Baden Powell, M.A. F.R.S.
 5. *Appendix to Sermon on the Rule of Faith.* By the Rev. H. E. Manning, M. A.
 6. *Bampton Lectures for 1838.* By Henry Arthur Woodgate, B.D. Fellow of St. John's College. 1839.

THESE are some of the numerous publications which, since the appearance of Professor Keble's Visitation Sermon on Primitive Tradition recognized in Holy Scripture, have been put forward for and against '*Tradition*;' and there is every reason to expect that the controversy is by no means ended. The Provost of Oriel, as we understand from the advertisement prefixed to his late excellent Sermon on the Duty of Private Judgment, promises an elaborate work on various parts of the subject. Dr. Wilson seems bound to take some notice of the postscript of Mr. Keble, and by his long silence seems to be meditating a weighty answer. We know not what credit to assign to a very prevalent rumour, that another gentleman of high theological and scientific attainment is to appear shortly in the controversy, under the express patronage, not to say by the invitation, of the heads of Colleges in Oxford. Various reviews and magazines have, as is natural, entered into the subject; and even the Standard and Morning Herald newspapers, great theological authorities both, have arrayed themselves in their strength against the Romanizers.

It is obvious at the first glance, that if learning is of any weight

in the controversy, it preponderates greatly on one side. Mr. Keble, Mr. Manning, Mr. Newman, Mr. Russell, and Mr. Churton, for instance, all of whom are, to speak generally, engaged in defending the same argument, exhibit in their respective publications signs of patient and extensive research; while the arguments of Dr. Shuttleworth, Professor Powell, and Mr. Townsend are slight in texture, and offer no great appearance of laborious preparation. Mr. Holden's little book is indeed a more elaborate performance, and shows much candour, patience, and good sense. Indeed, although we rank these writers together as being, in general, opponents of 'Tradition,' in some or other of its senses, they are so far from coinciding in their views or modes of argument, that it would be easy to show that each one of them is as distinctly opposed to the others, as to Mr. Keble or Mr. Woodgate themselves.

These varieties on the part of the writers on one side in the controversy; and the large number of books written upon the subject altogether, make it rather difficult to follow any line of observations deduced from the books under review themselves. We shall therefore take the liberty of tracing our own line of argument, independently; noticing, as we proceed, the agreement or disagreement of the various authors whose works we have assembled at the head of this article.

It is obvious that the first point to be examined in relation to the various questions raised about Holy Scripture and Tradition is this: What was the manner in which the Faith was once for all (ἀπαξ) delivered to the Saints; and that not because it will necessarily follow that the same mode is to be adopted in all ages which was adopted during the lifetime of the Apostles, but because we shall thus best perceive the relation, borne from the first, by these two modes of imparting Divine Truth to mankind, and learn the rule under which they are to be respectively regarded to the end of the world.

It is beyond dispute then that the first delivery of the Faith, by the inspired Apostles, to the Saints in every Church which they planted in the world, was performed by word of mouth. Before the first writing of the New Testament * was composed, St. Paul (to say nothing of the labours of the other Apostles) had preached the glorious Gospel of Jesus Christ at Salamis, Paphos, Antioch in Pisidia, Iconium, Lystra, Derbe, Antioch in Syria, Phrygia and the region of Galatia, Philippi, Thessalonica, Berea, and Athens. And, as Mr. Manning well observes,

"It is plain that ten or eleven years," according to the chronology

* The First Epistle to the Thessalonians.

least favourable to the argument, "elapsed, during which St. Paul performed his three Apostolical journeys in Asia Minor and Greece, while the Gentile Churches possessed no written Gospel."—App. p. 38.

Even when the Apostolical Epistles and the four Gospels were composed, it must have been some time before they were generally diffused and known; and undoubtedly many, perhaps most, of the first generation of converts descended into their graves without having ever seen or perhaps heard of a single line of Holy Scripture.

This point, however, being too clear and certain to admit of any difference of opinion, it follows to consider how far the written Scriptures, as they were composed and made known, were of a nature to supersede, or did actually supersede the former oral mode of teaching. And here we cannot do better than quote an excellent remark of Mr. Woodgate's.

"The relation of the Epistles to the Christian doctrines would perhaps be best seen, if we could suppose that in the Acts of the Apostles, at the exact point in the history at which the Apostle had written each of his Epistles, the sacred historian had notified the name of each of them in its proper place; as if *e.g.* he had said 'Here the Apostle wrote such or such an Epistle.' We should thus, . . . finding the history relate to us the progress of a certain teaching on the part of the Apostles, with the particulars of which it has not yet acquainted us, but which it might be supposed we should find stated in the other Scriptures, turn to those Scriptures for that purpose, and find that they, instead of giving us in full or in detail the particulars of that teaching, treat it as though it were already taught, and speak of it in the way of allusion rather as to something already known; thus declaring, by implication, that there was something between that history and those Epistles which the written Scriptures as yet have not communicated, but which obviously is understood to exist somewhere." *

Let us then consider for a moment the case of the first Epistle of all, the first to the Thessalonians. The Thessalonians had been very recently visited by St. Paul. He had imparted to them the Gospel of God (1 Thess. ii. 8); as he had been allowed of God to be put in trust with the Gospel, even so he had spoken (ii. 4); he had preached unto them the Gospel of God, laboriously, gently, affectionately, holily, justly, and unblameably. His Gospel had come unto them not in word only, but also in power and in the Holy Ghost; and the result had been that they were not only ensamples to all that believed in Macedonia and Achaia, but also in every place their "faith to Godward was spread abroad," (i. 8.) But when he was suddenly and unexpectedly driven from Macedonia, and disappointed in his design of returning from Berea to Thessalonica (ii. 17, 18,) he sent Timothy

* B. L. iii. p. 114, 115.

from Athens "to establish and comfort them concerning their faith," (iii. 1,) and to comfort himself, "lest by some means the tempter should have tempted them, and his labour have been in vain." (iii. 5.) On Timothy's return with "good tidings of their faith and charity," St. Paul wrote his first letter; a letter full, as every page of St. Paul's writings is, of overflowing tenderness, encouragement, and Christian truth; but which nevertheless cannot by any mode of interpretation be made to comprehend more than a small portion of the whole mass of Christian doctrine.

How then stood the 'Thessalonians' rule of Faith? How stood at this moment the question, then first made possible, between Tradition and Scripture? Doubtless, they had been taught *all* orally, and *part* in writing. St. Paul had not imparted a portion of Christian truth to them in one way, and the rest in another way: but having not shrunk from delivering to them the whole counsel of God by word of mouth, he had thought it useful to give them also doctrine, reproof, correction, and instruction in righteousness, in a written letter.

However, even this written letter was not free from the possibility of misinterpretation: for within a very short time, perhaps within a few days, St. Paul found it necessary to write to them his second Epistle, to correct the mistake, into which they had fallen, of expecting the immediate approach of the day of judgment.

Now, we must confess, that it appears to us as clear as a thing can possibly be, that there was nothing either in the apparent design with which the two Epistles to the 'Thessalonians' were written, nor in their contents, to lead the people of Thessalonica to suppose that they were to regard the letters of St. Paul as superseding, in any respect, his oral teaching. On the contrary, they were expressly directed in the letters to stand fast and hold the traditions which they had been taught, whether by word, or the letters (2 Thess. xi. 15). The oral teaching would in the nature of the case fill up, interpret, confirm, conspire with the teaching of the letters. The letters would from the nature of the case allude to some points, omit others, be capable of misinterpretation, be full or scanty on various parts of the subject, in respect not to the positive importance of those parts, but to the special purposes and objects with which the letters were written. Those who had heard St. Paul "reason for three Sabbaths out of the Scriptures, opening and alleging that Christ must needs have suffered and risen again from the dead, and that this Jesus whom he preached unto them was Christ," (Acts, xvii. 3),—(which points, be it observed, are not re-inforced in the letters,)—and who had "believed, and consorted with Paul and Silas" during three weeks, must have understood much more readily, more fully, and more certainly than any other person possibly could do, the

indirect as well as the direct, the implied as well as the expressed meanings of two eager, earnest, and affectionate letters like the two to the Thessalonians. And therefore it seems to follow with the utmost clearness, that if any Thessalonian convert of that day had left writings containing further and fuller statements of doctrine as taught, or accounts of ordinances as instituted in his church by St. Paul, we should have the strongest reason to believe (the writings being proved to be genuine) that they would furnish the best possible commentary on the two Epistles of the Apostle.

Nor can we see how the case was altered, *in its kind*, when the Church of Thessalonica became possessed, as it probably did in the course of the century, of all, or nearly all, the Apostolic writings. Of the four Gospels, the peculiar characteristic was that they recorded discourses of Christ, *in anticipation* of the preaching of Christianity; for no Christianity could exist until the four events which *made* it, the Crucifixion, Resurrection and Ascension of Christ, and the Descent of the Holy Ghost, had taken place. The Epistles,—written to various Churches, occasioned by the circumstances of the particular Churches, and all, like their own, to be interpreted and explained by the converts who had heard St. Paul preach, and been baptized into the faith before they received any letter from him, did not *claim* to supersede (even if their form or manner of composition could lead them to suspect that they should supersede) the doctrine which they possessed already. Indeed the Epistles not only *acknowledged* the oral teaching which they already possessed, but referred to it as to the *test* which they should use in trying all other doctrine. “Though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other Gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, (or ye have received,) let him be accursed” (Gal. i. 8).

Undoubtedly, as the Church of Thessalonica became possessed of more and more of the certain Apostolical writings, they became able to support and prove more of their traditionary doctrine upon written evidence, and undoubtedly also, as the generation of those who had heard St. Paul, during the blessed three weeks in which he planted their Church and first watered it, departed one by one, the written Epistles and Gospels came out, with an increasing brightness, to light the path of the Church, when the sun of immediate inspiration and Apostolic preaching was set, yet still the ground and foundation of their faith had never been transferred. They still had heard, and knew, and kept, and taught their children, ALL by tradition; although it may be true (and it is a truth of no easy establishment by the opponents of Catholic tradition) that ALL was capable of support, illustration and confirmation from some part or other of the Apostolic writings. However,

whether Scripture contained all, or no, (for that is a point which we shall consider in due time,) their traditionary teaching certainly did. Traditionary teaching therefore to them was first in order of time,—it was more certainly *complete* than any Scripture;—it gave them the true key to the understanding of Scripture;—and it was the test, appointed by their own Apostle, for trying all other, both written and unwritten, doctrine.

The argument, as far as we have hitherto traced it, is brought out with great effect by Mr. Manning in the third chapter of the Appendix to his Sermon on the Rule of Faith, and Mr. Woodgate in the third of his ingenious Lectures. Nor is there any among the opponents of tradition who joins battle upon this portion of the argument except Dr. Shuttleworth; who opens his book with a quotation from Irenæus, in order to show that the Apostles put into writing exactly as much as they taught orally:—that their oral instruction was not in any respect wider in extent of doctrine than that written record which has descended to our times. Now we really must treat our readers to a portion of this quotation, in order to show them an instance, and by no means a singular instance, of Dr. Shuttleworth's mode of argument—"Marcus, discipulus et interpres Petri, quæ a Petro annunciata erant, *per scripta nobis tradidit*; et Lucas, sectator Pauli, quod ab illo predicabatur evangelium *in libro condidit*." "Here," says Dr. Shuttleworth, "is not the slightest intimation that their oral instruction was in any respect wider than the written record,"—that is, if we understand rightly, the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke, with the Acts of the Apostles, contain the whole of the teaching of St. Peter and St. Paul!—a strong argument, one would think, against the canonical authority of the sixteen Epistles purporting to be written by these two Apostles, and containing much which is untold by St. Mark and St. Luke! In the same slipshod style of reasoning he continues to adduce, through the first dozen pages of his book, affirmative passages on the value of Holy Scripture, from Clemens, Polycarp, Ignatius, and Justin; no one of which has the slightest reference to the *exclusion* of Catholic tradition. To each quotation he appends a little comment, in order to supply the relevancy which the quotation itself so plainly wants. Of the passages from Polycarp he says, "Surely these are not the expressions of a man who looked upon the Apostolical writings as an incomplete summary of the Divine Will, and requiring to be helped out and made complete by incidental gleanings from the verbal communications of intermediate teachers."* This is the ἐνδόξιμον wherewith St. Ignatius is pressed into the service, "This language, to say the least of it, is certainly not that of a man who thinks that the recorded words of Scripture can be safely

added to from the mere conjectures (!) however plausible (!) of uninspired human ingenuity." (!) *

Among the various wonderful things which Dr. S.'s little book contains, not the least wonderful is his notion of the opinions and arguments of those whom he attacks.

But to proceed. There being nothing in the history of the Sacred Writings of the New Testament, nor in their form, to indicate that they were designed to supersede the traditionary teaching which the Churches enjoyed, but, on the contrary, a full recognition and acknowledgment of this traditionary teaching, we advance a step further into the heart of the argument, and observe that there was, as a matter of fact, an agreement and consent in the first ages respecting the main outlines of Christian teaching; that this consent did, as a matter of fact, fix the landmarks of scriptural interpretation; distinguished fundamentals; in some instances supplied a fulness and pregnancy to passages of the writings, which the mere letter would not have furnished; and in some instances (as St. James, v. 14) overruled an apparently plain statement of Scripture. And for this consent and agreement, whensoever it is full, complete, and undeniable, we claim a two-fold authority: affirmatively, to determine a doctrine or practice apostolical: negatively, to exclude all doctrines or practices with which it is utterly unacquainted as unapostolical. And this authority we claim, first, on the plain ground of historical evidence, because the consent of contemporaries or immediate successors must be allowed to be the best means of ascertaining the teaching of any persons, or the meaning of their writings; and secondly, on the higher ground of the Promise given to the Church by her Divine Founder, that by His Holy Spirit she should be led into all Truth. For let this promise be interpreted with ever so much laxity, let it be explained away as much as human ingenuity can dilute a plain meaning, and thus much at least will remain clear and undeniable; that whensoever the Church of God is certainly cognizable, when she has a clear, certain, single form or body,—when she acts ecumenically by Councils, speaks uniformly and without diversity in her Doctors, then the peculiar promise of the Holy Spirit of God, to lead her into all truth, guarantees the essential certainty of her teaching, and invests her decisions with full and divine authority. Let it be granted, for the sake of argument, that in later ages she is rent and severed, that though she undoubtedly still exists on the earth, yet it is difficult for any to pronounce upon the vitality of particular limbs or portions of her body,—that ecumenical decisions are in the present state of the world impracticable,—that man's sin has shrunk up the promise (which might otherwise have

been fulfilled with a richness of fulfilment passing our conceptions) to the smallest dimensions which its letter will bear, yet it must be granted that in the times of her unity, in the times of her unquestioned vitality, before her national establishments had diffused, divided, and, in many respects, corrupted her,—that then in her days of purity she possessed, in its glorious fulness, the promise of her Lord. Therefore the Church distracted appeals to the Church at peace: the Church torn and divided to the Church united: the Church half-endowed to the Church enjoying the plenitude of blessing; the Church of questioned and litigated heirship to the Church peacefully possessed of her undoubted and immediate inheritance.

But here we find ourselves in direct collision with Dr. Shuttleworth, Professor Powell, and Mr. Holden, each of whom, though differing *toto cœlo* from the others, refuses to allow the claim set up by the Church for the authoritative teaching of the primitive ages.

Dr. Shuttleworth forming a hasty induction out of his half dozen irrelevant passages already noticed, thus concludes:—

“And thus, then, through this scanty series of writers, we descend through more than the first 150 years from the close of our Lord’s ministry. Now, during this long period, I repeat, we have every reason for believing that the doctrine of tradition being concurrent in authority with Scripture, or obligatory upon the conscience (in any degree beyond that in which the established usages of any set of good men must necessarily come with a certain recommendation in their favour to other well-disposed persons) had never for a moment suggested itself to mankind.”—p. 14.

And with this brief and simple argument he seems to think the question (which “has ever appeared to him to lie within a very narrow compass,”—*Advertisement*) set at rest. Tradition, claiming to be apostolical, was unheard of for 150 years—vide my quotations;—the first links of the chain are wanting,—and whatever number of witnesses may be produced after these years, yet “the opinions of the writers of the third or fourth centuries, unless they can be traced upwards through the earlier channel of Church history, necessarily (?) carry with them no more weight than might be claimed, just as confidently, in support of HIS OWN peculiar views by ANY theological speculatist of the present day.”—p. 15.

What sort of answer to this argument would Dr. Shuttleworth prefer? Shall we offer him another passage from the “good Father” besides the one which he has quoted on his own side?

“Since therefore there are such abundant proofs, it is not right to seek among any others the truth, which it is easy to receive from the Church, forasmuch as the Apostles most fully laid up in it, as in a rich depositary, all things belonging to the truth, that all who would might

take from it the water of life; for this is the entrance of life; but all others are thieves and robbers. Wherefore we ought to avoid them: but whatsoever is in the Church, that to affect with the greatest diligence, and to embrace as the tradition of truth. Wherefore if there did arise a controversy about ever so small a point, ought we not to have recourse to the most ancient Churches, which the Apostles in person frequented, and receive from them a decision, certain and manifest, of the point at issue? For what if the Apostles had left us no Scriptures at all, ought we not to follow the line of tradition, which they delivered to them to whom they committed the Churches? With which rule many barbarous nations agree, who believe in Christ, having salvation written, without paper and ink, by the Spirit, in their hearts: and who watchfully preserve the ancient tradition. . . . To whom should any one speaking with them, in their own tongue, declare the inventions of heretics, straightway they would close their ears and flee as far as possible, not enduring even to listen to blasphemous discourses. So by means of the same ancient tradition of the Apostles, they do not admit even in the conception of their minds any of the portentous blasphemies (of the heretics), and never as yet had there been among them any sect, nor had their (the heretical) doctrine been broached."*

Is not this sufficient to show that Dr. Shuttleworth spoke rather without book in saying the "the doctrine of tradition being concurrent in authority with Scripture had never for a moment suggested itself to mankind" till after the days of Irenæus?

But the truth is, that the argument is inherently weak and trifling. Let it be granted that tradition, *eo nomine*, is never once spoken of in the writings of the first one hundred and fifty years after the close of our Lord's ministry. Let it be granted that no passages are to be found in any of the Fathers of that period which bear upon the present question more nearly than by affirming the value and authority of the writings of the New Testament. What then? Consent in the first age becomes Tradition in the next. Nobody calls the knowledge which enables him to understand the full meaning of a letter by the name of tradition. It is time to talk of it as tradition when the generation of those who have received the letter is past away, and the explanatory knowledge has been entrusted to some other vehicle. Does Dr. Shuttleworth mean to deny the existence of consent, uniformity, agreement in the teaching of the Church in the first one hundred and fifty years? Does he mean to deny that Holy Scripture was understood, in its main doctrines, in one uniform manner?—that the great articles of the creed were taught during these years, "*semper, ubique, et ab omnibus*?" This consent is what we call tradition: for this consent we claim authority,—the very same authority which Irenæus claimed for it. "For what if the Apostles had left us no Scriptures at all, ought we not to

* Iren. adv. Hær. B. iii. iv., 1, 2, quoted by Manning, Appendix, p. 54.

follow the line of tradition which they delivered to them to whom they committed the Churches?"

We shall perhaps be told that for these Articles we *need* no traditional authority, that they are all capable of sufficient proof from Holy Scripture alone. Perhaps they are,—but we do not, perhaps we cannot, know the important services which Catholic tradition has rendered to the Church in enabling her to read the Scriptures* and perceive the proofs thus clearly, Besides, which are the verities of Holy Scripture which are so certainly read there as never to have been denied? What portion of the faith has been universally acknowledged by all who have claimed Holy Scripture as the sole foundation of their belief? Besides, if the tradition of the Church,—authoritative when the Church was sound, single, and uncorrupt; and valuable in various degrees, almost up to real authority, in subsequent ages,—be a real, independent, faithful witness of the truth of Christian doctrine, as we claim it to be, what right have we to undervalue its importance, and refuse to attend to its voice, even though we may be convinced that the Scriptural proofs would have been sufficient alone if God had seen fit to give them to us alone? "If either of them fail to convince," as Mr. Davison has admirably said of the Christian evidences, "there is much in store to supply the defect: and if either be adequate to a satisfactory conviction, they only conspire with other multiplied reasons in supporting the same belief. If the single stone or column be sufficient to uphold the edifice, we are not to think that the edifice really presses upon that single support; when it reposes, and with far greater security, upon the broad united strength of the entire range and system of its fabric."* Thus Scripture and tradition both speak to the same points in all the great Christian doctrines, and their voice *because* in harmony is not in unison.

But we must attend to Professor Powell, who looks upon all authoritative teaching whatever as tyrannical in itself, and tending directly to "involve in entire ambiguity the landmarks of Christian truth." Indeed, what with the Professor's *admissions*, on the one hand, and his *arguments* on the other, we are almost afraid to imagine what his *opinions* can be. For instance, he maintains it to be a fact, that the ordinary dogmatic statements and schemes of the Christian revelation are not to be found in the New Testament, nor even so implied as to be deducible from the text in an obvious and unquestionable manner. He urges, not without force, that every claim to "orthodoxy," whether made by the advocates of tradition or others, "must suppose *some* authority *besides* the Bible." He regards it "as one of the most truly

* Disc. on Prophecy, i. p. 34.

valuable characteristics of the traditional system, that its advocates allow and even contend for the insufficiency of such pretended proofs of doctrinal points." Should we not fear that if, after all this, he succeeds in "unveiling" tradition, he will be likely to leave *truth* rather bare?—that if that mode of interpreting the Bible which he seems to acknowledge to be less weak and flimsy than the others, be tyrannical in its purpose, and baseless in its foundation, the "landmarks of the truth will be involved in entire ambiguity," from the absolute right which will devolve on every man, woman, and child to understand Scripture as they please, without question or criticism? Is it not also somewhat strange to find a divine of the Church of England writing a book expressly to denounce the idea of the authority of Fathers and Councils, and yet acknowledging that it "was doubtless appealed to by most of the elder divines of the Church of England; nay, was the very plea of some of the most eminent of the Reformers, and may even be traced in the Homilies and Articles?"—p. 9.

But for the present we must be content to act on the defensive (although we are aware that the strength of the traditional argument comes out with much greater force when it assumes the offensive,) and consider the grounds of argument on which Mr. Powell disallows the authoritative teaching of the primitive Church. His reasoning seems to be as follows:—

"The system" of tradition "implies the addition of an authorized comment to the Apostles' writings."

"According to this view, then, the Church and the Fathers were simply as much the depositaries of one portion of Christian doctrine as the Apostles and Evangelists were of another."

"It is a necessary consequence that the evidence requisite to establish that authority must be precisely the same for both."

"Now the kind of evidence most generally looked to is that derived from miracles: which in this view are regarded solely as the credentials of a divine mission."

Therefore the question of the authority of primitive teaching resolves itself into the question of the reality of the miracles of the primitive Church.

An ingenious, and as far as we know, a novel argument! Yet, as far as we can judge, wholly overthrown by the two following considerations:

1st. The authority which we claim for the Primitive Church, is wholly different from that claimed for the Apostles, in this most important respect: that whereas the Apostles and Evangelists *SINGLY* were inspired by the Holy Ghost, and their separate authority therefore divine, we claim for the Church, even in its earliest and purest ages, no divine authority, except in its full

and unexceptionable CONSENT. So that there is material "difference between a passage in St. Irenæus, recording the doctrine delivered by St. John, and a passage in the Acts, recording a discourse of St. Peter." And 2dly, The "miracles," (if Mr. Powell must needs have miracles) which guarantee the infallibility of the Church in her uniform and unexceptionable consent, are the miracles of the Gospel—the miracles of our blessed Lord Himself. For if He spake the words of truth, His promise, that the Church should be led by the Holy Spirit into all truth, guarantees the infallibility of the Church whensoever her voice can be fully, fairly, and undoubtedly ascertained. }^r

But here Mr. Powell will reply, that we are maintaining tradition upon scripture proofs, while at other times we rest the proof of the genuineness and authority of scripture itself upon the ground of tradition; and he will tell us "that the perpetual circle in which we thus get involved is too palpable to need further remark." But with all deference there is no circle at all in the case. We receive the Holy Scriptures upon the plain historical ground of contemporary evidence; and in those Scriptures we find the promise which guarantees the infallibility of the Church when she really speaks in her complete and universal character. What does it matter though some of the writers, to whom we refer for the historical witness of the genuineness of Scripture, be also of the number of those from whose theological writings we gather the consent and agreement of their age? Because two different things happen to have been called by one name, Tradition, are we to argue as if they were identical? Is all traditional teaching to become a logical absurdity, because the evidence of the genuineness of books must needs be traditional?

The sort of witness which the earliest Fathers bear to the genuineness of the writings of the New Testament, is for the most part indirect and unintended. It arises from the use of phrases and expressions which plainly show that the writers were acquainted with those Scriptures. But when the Scriptures are thus proved to be genuine, it is plainly possible that they may impart authority of other kinds to the very same persons, whose evidence was alleged to prove their own genuineness, without any fault or fallacy of argument; just as a document may bear indirect evidence to the existence of a law or usage, under which its own authority is to be maintained. *

But though, as we have indicated above, Mr. Powell's admissions, when combined with his conclusions, appear to leave him in a very remarkable position, insomuch that he disowns every single ground on which he can have any reason to think himself

more in the right than any Baptist, Independent, or Unitarian, yet his admissions, when taken alone, are by no means without value. He entirely acquits the writers whom he assails of a "a real papistical tendency." He acknowledges that their appeal to antiquity is sanctioned by the practice of most of the elder divines of the Church of England, by some of the most eminent reformers, and by the Homilies and Articles. He says, that "their principal strength lies in the peculiar possession of the fountain heads of ecclesiastical erudition."

He acknowledges (what indeed can *hardly* be denied, but still the acknowledgment is something,) "that the Christian Religion is developed in the New Testament simply through the medium of a narrative, and occasional letters; and thus all its declarations of doctrine and practice appear but incidentally made, or merely alluded to, as things already known," that "it would appear extremely difficult for those habituated to dogmatic forms and expositions to place themselves fairly in the position of an inquirer" who should attempt to "frame a doctrinal system from the bare text of the Bible," "so that if men were left to their own deductions from the text, and interpretations of it, they would hardly avoid great diversity in their view of the Christian system." He admits that every "claim to orthodoxy must suppose some authority besides the Bible;" and that "any rule of doctrine whatever" "is inconsistent with the sole recognition of Scripture," that "to uphold the Bible alone is to uphold every man's right to interpret it." Important and curious admissions these, from one who writes in order to *unveil* tradition, and such as we suspect must shock the learned author of "Not Tradition but Scripture (or Revelation,)" not a little. Indeed, we were somewhat amused to find Mr. Powell expressing in his Preface some fears whether he might not have touched upon the same topics with the Warden of New College, and "that nearly in the same point of view," and deprecating the idea of being thought to have desired to intrude on the same ground which he had "so ably occupied." For the Warden is so far from agreeing with him as to the "incidental allusions" of written Scripture to the Christian doctrines, that he believes the Apostles, after preaching the truth to the Churches, "proceeded to fix in writing, for the benefit of after-ages, those selfsame doctrines,"* and "that it is naturally to be assumed that when they did proceed to place their doctrines upon paper, they would at all events be careful to omit nothing."† So far again from sympathizing with Mr. Powell's view as to the variety of interpretation likely to be adopted by those who reject tradition, he stoutly maintains, that "keeping ourselves within Scripture, we must do

* Page 20.

† Page 32.

right,"* that "the boundary is one, which, *if we draw the line at the right place(!)* we cannot possibly mistake;"† that the New Testament, if *fairly* construed according to the *obvious* meaning of its language, unequivocally lays down all the doctrines which he has above stated;"‡ which doctrines be it observed, (though not very like the Articles or Catechism of the Church of England,) are stated in such a manner as to exclude Unitarians, Presbyterians, Quakers, and many other people who profess to found their opinions upon Holy Scripture. All such however the Warden cuts off with this short answer, "If however notwithstanding, men still exist, so unwilling to accept what *we conceive to be the orthodox faith*, that they will mistranslate or omit important passages, rather than swerve from their own preconceived opinions, of such men it can be no want of fairness or charity to assert that the fault lies, not in the obscurity of revelation, but in their own wilfulness."§ How exultingly would Professor Powell fasten on such a passage as this, if it were to be found in the Tracts for the Times; and how powerfully would he expose "the weak and flimsy" attempt to "claim orthodoxy," without supposing some authority besides the Bible! Really we could almost suppose the Professor to have had a sly reference to the Warden's book when he wrote the above, particularly when we read the next paragraph.

"The professed principle of 'the Bible, and the Bible only,' when taken in conjunction with this disposition (not avowed, nor perhaps even perceived,) to adopt what were *in reality other dogmatic standards*, has commonly driven Protestant divines to find in *Scripture* authority for tenets which no unprepossessed minds could possibly detect *there*: and to stretch the logic of theology to the most extravagant length of inference, holding out as decisive 'proof of some doctrinal system, single texts or expressions, or else what they term 'the general tenor of Scripture,' where to all legitimate reasoning there could appear nothing but the remotest allusion, the most entirely imaginary parallel, or often no connection or relation whatever."||

Whom can this refer to, among modern controversialists, so properly as to the writer, who claiming to derive every thing from Scripture only, and thinking it not uncharitable to attribute all difference of opinion from his own to wilfulness, gravely argues for the grace of Holy Baptism thus: "That there is some important blessing attendant upon the due reception of this rite, cannot be for a moment doubted. The solemnity with which our Lord enjoins its performance is quite decisive upon that point;"¶ and again, "as being of divine institution,"** Baptism

* Page 125.

† Page 152.

‡ Page 28.

§ Page 29.

|| Trad. Uns. p. 17.

¶ Page 102.

** Page 104.

"is necessarily accompanied by a divine blessing, not otherwise attainable:" who derives the whole of his strange doctrine of the Eucharist from the six words, "This do in remembrance of me:"* who argues that "Both the rites of baptism and of the Eucharist require of necessity the superintendence of some one person to direct their due performance; and that it appears to follow from *plain reason* and the analogy of revelation," (the general tenor of Scripture?) "that such superintendence falls *necessarily* into the province of the duly ordained minister; any interference of the laity on those points would appear *therefore* to be an act of unauthorized presumption, contumacious to the discipline and usefulness of the Church, and *of course* offensive to God:"† who admitting, after many scruples, and cautious, and repeated allegations of the "tenour of Scripture," that "within certain limits, and in a sober sense," written authority "MAY EVEN be alleged in favour of Absolution," does not scruple to maintain the abundant sufficiency of the Scripture argument in favour of infant Baptism.

But we must not finally quit the consideration of Dr. Shuttleworth's little book without expressing our earnest sorrow at the statements of doctrine which it contains. We do not now speak of faulty logic, or inconclusive argument, but of serious and lamentable laxity of doctrinal statements. Compare, for instance, the following passage, in which he seems to intend to give a formal statement of the doctrine of the Eucharist, with our catechism, article, or consecration prayer in the Communion Service.

"The performance of this rite has been positively enjoined by our Divine Master: the mode of its celebration has been intelligibly taught us by Him," (may we ask where?) "and we may *therefore* (?) be perfectly certain that if we perform it according to the instructions (?) we have received from Him, the divine grace" (which?) "annexed to this act of solemn duty and worship will inevitably follow. 'This do in remembrance of me,' was our Lord's parting command. The words are at once clear and pregnant with meaning. We are to approach the holy table with hearts warmed with the remembrance of Him; that is to say, with the recollections of our own originally lost nature; of all that we have done and thought amiss; of our wanderings, our rebellions, our worldliness, our ingratitude; and we are to set this consciousness of our own total want of desert against all that He has done and suffered for us." (Is this a reference to Dr. Hampden's theory of parallel facts?) "We are, by eating and drinking the visible representations of that holy body and blood which were sacrificed for us to awaken our feelings of humble gratitude, and to learn and strive, so far as human nature will permit, to assimilate ourselves to Him who put on Himself the form of

* Page 123.

† Page 137.

man for our sake, and to run our course as regenerate beings, redeemed by that act of mercy from the dominion of sin.”*

On the sacrament of baptism the statements of this writer (for in this respect he is “the fairest of theologians,” offering his own, while he criticizes those of others) are, if possible, more vague and unsatisfactory still. His section headed “On Baptism” is too long for quotation, but we will endeavour to state its contents. From the command of our Saviour to baptize *all* nations, and from the “*whole tenor*” (vide Professor Powell) of His conversation with Nicodemus, he argues its universal obligation. From the existence of the command, he directly infers the reality of spiritual benefit, by a logical process unprovided for in the books; and proves the Scriptural obligation of the practice of infant baptism from the practice of the Jews in respect of circumcision.

The question “what is the nature of the spiritual gift which we believe to be conferred in baptism,” will, he says, be differently answered according to men’s different temperaments.” (We cannot sufficiently express our astonishment! This from a writer whose very object is to prove ALL from Scripture!) “That there is some important blessing attendant upon the due reception of this rite cannot for a moment be doubted. The solemnity with which our Lord enjoins its performance is quite decisive upon that point.”†

But we have done :—and only expressing our unfeigned sorrow that such a book should have proceeded from such a man, and should have received praise from some of the highest authorities in the Church, we pass on to Mr. Holden, whose little book on Tradition is of a very different kind from those of the two writers whom we have already considered. Indeed, the only point in which Mr. Holden differs from the views which we have already offered is this, that he does not think that there does exist such an amount of “consent” in the first ages, as to stamp any traditive doctrine with a clear and full apostolical character. He is far from doubting that the first ages are the best commentators upon the apostolic teaching,—or that the voice of the Church, if really obtained in a full and true consent, must be in accordance with the mind of the Apostles, and therefore authoritative :‡ nor, again, does he seem to doubt that there is a *general* consent to the main Christian doctrines to be found in the remains of primitive antiquity, although he denies the existence of that absolutely universal agreement which alone can claim the true and undoubted title of real authority. He allows the principle to be a true one, † but he thinks it in the strict sense, of impossible application.

* Page 123.

† Page 102.

‡ Pages 36, 37.

We are quite aware of the "impossibility" of applying this principle in its strict sense to the interpretation of single texts, or to the establishment of all the details of Christian doctrine and practice. Nor do we find this impossibility, nor the difficulty of ascertaining what constitutes a complete consent, at all denied or undervalued by the defenders of Apostolical Tradition. Who, for instance, can speak more plainly than Mr. Newman?

"But enough has been said already to suggest that where men are indisposed towards such an appeal, where they determine to be captious and take exceptions, and act the disputant and sophist rather than the earnest inquirer, it admits of easy evasion, and may be made to conclude anything or nothing. The rule of Vincent is not of a mathematical or demonstrative character, but moral, and requires practical judgment and good sense to apply it. For instance, what is meant by being "*taught always*?" Does it mean in every century, or every year, or every month? Does '*every where*' mean in every country, or in every diocese? and does the consent of Fathers require us to produce the direct testimony of every one of them? How many Fathers, how many places, how many instances constitute a fulfilment of the test proposed? It is, then, from the nature of the case, a condition which can never be satisfied as fully as it might have been; it admits of various and unequal application in various instances; and what degree of application is enough, must be decided by the same principles which guide us in the conduct of life, which determine us in politics, or trade, or war, which lead us to accept Revelation at all, for which we have but probability to show at most, nay, to believe in the existence of an Intelligent Creator."*

It is in the nature of the case that a full consent can be obtained only for a few, and those the principal and fundamental portions of divine truth. Each writer is busy with his own particular argument, and does not of necessity state or refer to some, perhaps important, doctrines. Meanwhile it is clear, upon those reasonable grounds of argument on which all such matters are to be proved, that the truth in question was universally held in his age. One writer asserts it, a second incidentally confirms it, a third says that it was never denied, a fourth omits it but without anything which implies doubt of it, a fifth uses expressions capable of misinterpretation respecting it, and thereby gives strong proof that the question had not yet been stirred. Where such an argument is reasonably complete, there it is plain that we have, on Mr. Holden's own principle, sufficient ground for thinking a doctrine apostolical.

For let it be observed, the question now is not whether the doctrine be more or less apostolical,—more or less authoritative; but whether we be absolutely certain, or somewhat less than absolutely certain of its being apostolical and authoritative. Sup-

* Lectures on Romanism, Lect. 2, pp. 68, 69.

pose it granted, that in no one single instance we can be absolutely certain of that complete and minute consent which would leave no room for the smallest cavil or doubt. What then? Have we such complete and indubitable certainty of the apostolical authority of our *Scriptures*? Is there no possibility that an unfair, or even a fair arguer may raise questions to perplex ordinary believers in their faith in the *written* word? Is the argument, the extant and producible argument for the Apostolical authority of various Books of Scripture, stronger than the argument of Bull's *Judicium Eccl. Catholicæ*, affirmatively, to prove the consent of the early Church in favour of the doctrine of the Divinity of Christ, or than the argument of Mr. Faber, negatively, to disprove the apostolicity of the doctrine of irrespective Predestination? Mr. Holden would readily grant that it would be a most fallacious and mischievous method of reasoning, to transfer the possible imperfections of the argument in proof of the genuineness of the book, (it being supposed to be reasonably sufficient), to the diminution of our respect for the contents of that book. Is it not a parallel fallacy to allege the want of *absolute* and *unexceptionable* proof of consent (it being supposed that there is a reasonable sufficiency of evidence in favour of complete consent), in depreciation of the value of that doctrine to which the consent testifies? Is not this argument precisely that of every unbeliever in Christianity? You allege to him some Christian doctrine,—he replies, by saying that your *evidence* is not so full as it might be. You tell him that his soul is at stake, that he may have this hope or none;—he answers, that some German critics doubt the genuineness of St. Luke and St. John's Gospels. Is not the case very similar to this, if when we allege the consent of the Primitive Church in favour of the Divinity of Christ, as an independent, apostolical, authoritative, divine testimony to that doctrine, we are met by being told that our consent is not so perfect as it might be,—that there were disputes, and debates, and heresies in the Church from the first?

But we would fain ask another question. Let it be granted that the extant producible argument in favour of the genuineness of every single book in the New Testament is absolutely perfect; so that no reasonable doubt can be entertained upon the subject by any man who fairly examines it. Whence, then, do we derive our assurance of the completeness and sufficiency for salvation, of all these Books taken together? The anti-traditionists are all very strong maintainers of the sufficiency of written Scripture: it is their very main-stay and support. The traditionists allow and maintain it too:—and from this very agreement it happens, that people do not look much into the grounds of their belief. But why do we believe it? Why, on what grounds do they and we, alike, and

with equal zeal and alacrity, defend, not merely the Apostolical authority and inspiration of the single Books of Scripture, but also their exact and particular sufficiency when taken together?—What is there in the “narrative and occasional letters,” of which Mr. Powell speaks, which would lead us to expect that they would thus fit in to one another, and form a full and complete code?—*Nothing*: absolutely nothing!

How do we prove the first clause of the Sixth Article? Bishop Burnet proves it thus:

“3rdly. That some books were written for the conveyance of those matters, which (books) have been in all ages carefully preserved and esteemed sacred. 4thly. That the writers of the first ages do always argue from and appeal to those books; and 5thly. That what they have said, without authority from them, has been rejected in succeeding ages.”

Bishop Beveridge proves the Article by quotations from the Fathers.

Even Dr. Shuttleworth goes far towards acknowledging the same thing.

“Now the very fact,” says he, “that the whole Christian world is agreed as to the reality of the inspiration of the writers of the New as well as of the Old Testament appears to me, I own, conclusive as to the correctness of the above inference, (*i. e.* ‘the entire sufficiency of Scripture, independently of Tradition, as a rule of Faith and Doctrine.’)”

We should like to see a history of the Doctrine of the Sufficiency of Scripture. It would be the best possible instance of a genuine tradition; testified by all the greatest writers of antiquity, as separate authorities, witnessing the doctrine of their age;—embodied in an article or Canon of Faith, *for the first time*, at the Reformation, and in all subsequent times acknowledged with uniform consent, by all the Christian world.

Is it not a strange and unaccountable termination of the history of the only tradition which is never questioned, that it should be made the very ground and station from which all tradition is assailed? that men should build their batteries against tradition on a tradition; and that a tradition for which there is not a shadow of Scripture proof?

But we must not do injustice to Mr. Holden. He grants a great deal; and though we think that he stops short of the whole truth, yet we feel grateful to him for much valuable argument, skilfully and candidly stated. The following passage may be taken as an example of both the value and the imperfection of his views:—

“Others, more cautious, represent the primitive creed as comprising little more than the Apostles’ Creed. The Author of the 71st number of the Oxford Tracts says, ‘this majestic evidence (*i. e.* of the primitive

Church) does not extend to any, but to the articles of the Creed, especially those relating to the 'Trinity and Incarnation;' and it is the main object of Mr. Newman's Ninth and Tenth Lectures to prove, that the Church's deposit of faith is substantially what is now called the Creed, and that, 'besides this, there is what may be called prophetic tradition,' not of equal authority with the former. Such also appears to be the view of Professor Keble, in the Postscript to his Sermon on Primitive Tradition. This last view of the subject derives probability from the nature of the case; for the professed belief of the Church would embrace only fundamental truths: and no one diligently reading the Scriptures ever supposed them to be very numerous, though somewhat more so than what is comprehended in the summary Creeds to be found in the ancient writers Without attempting an enumeration of them, which is not required by the present work, it may just be observed, that what were accounted fundamentals by the primitive Churches correspond with what are so regarded by the Church of England. The blessed Trinity, the incarnation and atonement of Christ, the sanctification of the Spirit, the canon of Scripture, the holy Catholic Church, the three-fold order of ministers, the apostolical succession, the grace of the sacraments, infant baptism, baptismal regeneration, justification, and life everlasting: these at least were included in the primitive Creed. The utility of primitive tradition thus consists in proposing great doctrinal landmarks for direction to the sense of Scripture generally, rather than in the exposition of particular passages. The sanction of the Church can only be pleaded when she has actually spoken out, whether concerning doctrines or interpretations. It is to no purpose therefore to denounce the ancient Fathers as worthless expounders of Scripture. Their expository attempts may abound in ignorance, in puerility, in absurdity, in contradiction,—but they alone are answerable for their own delinquencies. It does not attach to the traditionary doctrine, which rests not on this or that doctor, but on the Church Catholic; and as it cannot be supposed that the true faith was materially perverted so soon after its rise; the consent of the primitive Church on all essential articles of religion, where the judgment has been distinctly pronounced, and can be plainly ascertained, must be admitted as strong corroborative evidence of the right interpretation of the Scriptures. Such being the case, primitive tradition, as now limited and explained, ought to be diligently consulted by the conscientious inquirer into Scripture truth: not as being the foundation of doctrine, not as THE test of orthodoxy, not as itself DIVINE and INFALLIBLE in exposition; but as one of the best helps which the Almighty hath vouchsafed to his creatures for ascertaining the truths of revelation."

Like another writer, Mr. Holden seems to have designed to prove tradition unauthoritative, and to have succeeded in proving it authoritative.

We do not know whether we have succeeded in making the points at issue between our own arguments and Mr. Holden's clear. And even if we have done this, we are not without some fear lest it may be thought that we are raising differences between

persons so practically agreed that it is very unfortunate to insinuate disagreement between them. We fear that it may be argued against the line of reasoning which we have adopted, thus: "All this may be true, and sound. But what is the use of asserting a principle, which sounds very dangerous and strange to so many worthy people, which has actually been perverted to produce deep and extensive mischief by the Roman Catholics, and which after all only furnishes you with an additional ground for believing that which you and all your brethren already are quite willing to believe? Why divide the Church of England, especially in times like these, when the utmost internal union and strength are requisite for her defence against external dangers, in order to prove the Apostles' Creed, already sufficiently proved upon Scriptural evidence, and acknowledged to be proved on that evidence by all the members of the Church of England? Why quarrel with writers who grant tradition useful, worth studying, likely to furnish helps for Scripture interpretation, &c. because they will not go quite your lengths in confessing it to be authoritative?"

If we do not mistake, this sort of reasoning is much held by many excellent and generally right-minded Churchmen respecting arguments such as those maintained in the preceding pages, and therefore we think it desirable to furnish what seems to us to be the right answer to it.

First then, we maintain Primitive Tradition, because it really does possess the claims to veneration and respect which we assign to it; and because the Church in all ages has deferred to it as to a true and real authority respecting Christian doctrine. This argument, it will be observed, is quite independent of all consideration of the practical value of tradition. It may be granted, for instance, that tradition does not speak upon any one single subject more fully, or more clearly, or more certainly than Holy Scripture, and yet if God have given tradition, *beside* Holy Scripture, and if His Church in all time has uniformly regarded tradition as a real witness to the truth, we have no right, for the sake of peace or agreement with our neighbours, to sacrifice it. Of course we cannot here undertake to *prove* the uniformity with which the Church has borne testimony to the value of Primitive Tradition. Indeed this ground has been so often and so ably traversed in the course of the present controversy that it would be quite needless to attempt it, even if the attempt were not too great and tedious for our present purpose. Suffice it to refer to Mr. Manning's learned Appendix, and to Mr. Russell's elaborate and most complete "Judgment of the Anglican Church." Nothing can be more full, fair or satisfactory than this catena. The editor truly says that he "has been guided by the strictest impartiality" in his

choice of authorities. He does not follow a thin and narrow stream of Anglican teaching,—such as might be traced from the High Church divines of Charles the First's reign to the Non-jurors, and from them to the authors of the Tracts for the Times, but he fairly descends the broad river of the Church of England; inso-much that there is hardly a great name among our divines since the Reformation whose testimony he has not examined.

“The authorities cited extend in an unbroken order from 1556 to 1747, and among them will be found the decisions (not merely of ‘a few’ of ‘our ancient divines’—but) of our reformers, martyrs, bishops and confessors—our most illustrious champions against Heresy and Schism,—those in a word to whom universal consent has assigned the rank and honour of Doctors and Masters of the Anglican Church.”* And the result of this examination is most striking, and proves beyond contradiction, how faithfully the Church of England has preserved the tradition of tradition which she vindicated as her Apostolical inheritance, and purified at the Reformation.

But in the second place, nothing can be more entirely unfounded than the notion that Holy Scripture does speak so clearly, so fully or so undoubtedly as to need no corroborative and explanatory evidence to the truths which it witnesses. We need not go to the admissions of adversaries in proof of this truth, nor even allege the exceeding diversity of opinion in the various sects which claim to derive all their tenets from the Holy Scripture only;—unfortunately the history of doctrine in our own Church during the last half century will illustrate too clearly the insecurity of a merely Scriptural foundation.

The “revival” of religious earnestness and zeal which followed the lean and hungry times of the eighteenth century, came from a quarter in which Catholic truth was regarded with small respect. Orthodoxy without warmth made but a feeble battle against piety without orthodoxy;—and though some of the older and more learned divines of the time remained as witnesses of the truth which they had received, yet as the younger men grew up, there was a growing laxity on the subject of Catholic truth, a gradual sliding away from sound Anglican orthodoxy, an accommodation of theological language to the language of those who were *κατ' ἐξοχήν* “serious” and “evangelical,” which threatened the most deplorable mischief. We were rapidly yielding every ground of argument on which we could have withstood the Roman Catholic Dissenters, inso-much that if any real or serious controversy had arisen twenty years ago, it is hardly to be doubted that there

* Preface to Russell's Judgment of the Anglican Church.

would have been but few persons competent to enter the lists with power, and wield the massive weapons of the Reformation. Even those whom

“*Meliore luto fecit præcordia Titan,*”

who by a kind of holy Church instinct had been kept from saying anything in derogation of these high and sacred portions of the deposit of truth, had not perceived or understood some twenty years ago the vast importance of such questions “so well as they are now begun to be understood.” “Most heartily,” says one of the best and ablest of our living writers, “do I disclaim the wilfulness of having ever entertained a thought, or wish, at known variance with *Church principles*, and never did I mean to overlook the value of our great Christian institutions, when less deliberately convinced than now of the sure ground on which they stand. And often, in the progress and increase of such principles between that day and this, it has been matter of exceeding consolation and refreshment of spirit to think that, young and inexperienced and confiding as I then comparatively was, I should not—in a work designedly taking the tone of freedom from all doubtful disputation—have even inadvertently advanced a single proposition irreconcilable with the sound views of that good way, which is now ridiculed by some rude scoffers as the *VIA MEDIA*.”*

And Thirdly, on the establishment and maintenance of the true authority of Primitive Tradition, depends in great measure the respect with which we shall regard traditionary teaching in its later and less perfect forms. For though absolute and real *authority* be claimed only for a few great affirmative principles of doctrine,—the great landmarks of Church teaching in all times,—yet besides these there are doctrines and usages, and expositions of Scripture, claiming reverence and respect in various degrees, in proportion to the various degrees in which the voice of the Church has been pronounced respecting them. Many of these are of extreme antiquity and prevalence; they pervade our belief and practice to such extent as to give them almost the whole of their peculiar colour; they furnish the rules and principles of Scripture interpretation much further than we can conceive, unless we examine the matter with more than ordinary care; they blend and mingle so intimately with our very faculties of Christian understanding, that we cannot, if we would, regard Christian truth and doctrine without them, nor put ourselves in the situation of those who should endeavour to frame a system of doctrine and morals from the mere letter of the Chris-

* Letter introductory to the third edition of Miller's Bampton Lectures.

tian Scriptures. They alone satisfy the daily detail of Christian thoughts, doubts, duties, dangers, and conduct. Where Holy Scripture and Primitive Tradition furnish only the outlines of truth and duty, this common law of Christianity supplies the application of principles, directs the endless variety of single cases, furnishes the full, sufficient rule of minute belief and practice, regulates the particulars, the Aristotelian *τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα* of all Christian life.

And this sort of Tradition witnessed and in great measure embodied in the writings of past ages, is the peculiar possession of the living Church. With its aid she rightly divides the word of God. With its aid she instructs her Catechumens. With its aid she meets every new emergent case of difficulty in which her decision is desired, and her authority deferred to. With it she teaches what she proves from Holy Scripture. She leaves it as a holy, and in its kind, a mainly unwritten inheritance to those that come after.

This sort of tradition is the principal means of cherishing and keeping up the spirit of holy Christian dutifulness,—the Church temper, which shines so brightly in many of our own older divines—the temper which thinks it exceeding happiness to be well guided, which knows of no safety except when following in the holy train of Apostles, Prophets, Martyrs, Saints, and Confessors, which would as soon think of apostatizing from God and relinquishing the hope of Heaven, as of disowning the dutiful allegiance of God's Church, and vindicating the right of resting all its belief and hope upon its own private and unauthorized judgment.

We need not embarrass our argument by considering the case of a person who, bred up in dutiful subjection to such a Church as he finds in his own country, sees reason, later in his life, to resolve that he must depart from its communion and attach himself elsewhere. Suffice it to observe, that whensoever this most grievous of all misfortunes happens, when a man finds it necessary to pluck this "live asunder" from his heart,

"The ingrained instinct of old reverence,
The holy habit of obediency,"

and declare in the face of the world that he has hitherto been involved in guilt and error even in his holiest service,—it would seem as if—his testimony once solemnly given—he had nothing further to do with the stormy scene of controversy, argument, or passion. It would seem as if he should retire from the sight and almost from the knowledge of the world, and give in the sacred silence of his remaining penitential years, the best witness to

God, his brethren, and himself, of the sincerity and solemnity of his change.

But we have delayed too long our notice of Mr. Woodgate's Bampton Lectures; and we feel some reluctance to pass so hastily over a work of so much thought and value. But in truth although these lectures are generally upon the same subject as the books which we have noticed above, yet they occupy so different a part of the same subject, and enter so little into the controversy in which we have been engaged, that we have only just come in sight of them. It is only casually, and in a manner incidental to the main object of the Lectures that Mr. Woodgate touches upon the argument in favour of the true authority of Primitive Tradition.

The main design of Mr. Woodgate appears to be to apply to the subject of the traditionary teaching of the living Church,—the objections taken against it, the arguments by which it is defended, the benefits which it produces, and the ground on which it rests,—the same sort of argument as that used by Bishop Butler in the “*Analogy*” in defence of Revealed Religion in general. It is plain therefore that the proper *proofs* of traditionary teaching do not fall directly within the scope of his design. He accordingly begins by assuming that

“Two instruments were appointed by our Lord for propagating the Christian Revelation—the Church and the Holy Scriptures. To both of these were their respective offices assigned: to the one to teach, the other to prove. The teaching of the one, after the Apostles were dead and the canon of the New Testament complete, was not to be received as essential to salvation (as our portion of the Western Church teaches,) unless what it taught could *also* be found in and be proved by Holy Scripture; while on the other hand, the written word pre-supposes on the part of the reader a knowledge of the doctrines of which it speaks.”*

It is of course no objection to this statement that it takes for granted a considerable number of large and difficult questions—(on one of which particularly, the one referred to in the few parenthetical words, we should have liked to ascertain Mr. Woodgate's opinion more exactly, for, as we have indicated above, the history of the doctrine of the sufficiency of Scripture is rather a desideratum in our theology,)—on the contrary, it is only by dis-embarrassing the argument of the proofs of these matters, that Mr. Woodgate can enter upon his own proper subject, and shew that the objections against the traditionary teaching of the church are, so far from being peculiar to it, that they may be

brought against that species of Christianity which is commonly maintained in opposition to it, and even against natural religion itself.

Accordingly, in the second lecture, Mr. Woodgate argues, with much cogency and effect, that the common Sectarian principle, which maintains "the Bible only," as the source and foundation of doctrine, and the right of private interpretation, is wholly without defence against Socinianism, which fights with precisely the same weapon, and vindicates its right to interpret "the Bible only" in its own fashion. He also shews that the Sectarian, in arguing with the Deist, uses precisely the same sort of reasoning which the Churchman urges against the Sectarian. When the Deist alleges the light of nature as his full and sufficient evidence of the doctrines of natural religion, he is told that it is only from the remains of primitive and traditionary revelation that his reason becomes sufficiently enlightened to discern these doctrines, and appreciate the natural evidence of them; and in like manner, when the Sectarian claims that the Holy Scriptures are sufficiently explicit alone, that there is no difficulty in deriving from them the form of Faith, without recourse to any other source or origin of doctrine, he is answered that he cannot now put himself into the situation of an undirected and unbiassed investigator of mere Scripture, that he cannot divest himself of the knowledge obtained by traditionary teaching, and that while he thinks he looks at the Scripture only with unprejudiced mind, he is in reality beholden to the unacknowledged efficacy of traditionary teaching for the rules and principles on which he understands the Scripture.

In all this lecture Mr. Woodgate appears to us to establish, beyond question, the identity in kind of the arguments used by the Churchman against the Sectarian on the one hand, and the Sectarian against the Socinian and Deist on the other. But we do not quite see the force of the conclusion, that because the arguments are the same in kind, therefore the arguments of the Sectarian *lead to* Socinianism and Deism. It is surely possible that each may hold his own, and acknowledge the right of the other to his own. This indeed seems to be the happy consummation of liberalism which Mr. Powell contemplates with such joyful anticipation at the conclusion of his Pamphlet. *Morally* indeed we grant and maintain that the Sectarian is in the high road to Socinianism and Deism, but we cannot but allow that the "right of private logic" will enable a man to argue what he pleases, and whence he pleases.

In the two following lectures "the Church principle" is stated and proved. It is shewn that as a matter of fact Christian truth

was at first taught orally, that it appears to have been the peculiar design of God that the gospel should be distinguished from the law by being committed, as to its form, to man and not to tables,—that no part of the Scriptures of the New Testament give a formal or professed statement of the whole matter of the Apostles' teaching, but on the contrary, that all those Scriptures were addressed to believers, and that there appears to be historical evidence, derived from Scripture and other sources, that this same system was continued by a succession of Apostolical ministers. Hence Mr. Woodgate infers that the *form* of Christian doctrine is to be looked for elsewhere than in the Scripture, and that the proper reference and appeal from the doctrinal decisions of the living Church, is not to Scripture only, but to history and antiquity also.

In the Fifth Lecture Mr. Woodgate returns to the more particular subject of his course, and shews with great ingenuity and clearness the similarity of the process pursued in communicating the principles of morals and taste, to that adopted by the Church in her claim of traditionary teaching. In every such case there is an apparent fallacy, an apparent reasoning in a circle, while the rules and principles of the subject (not being such as to approve themselves to the untrained intellect) are supported upon the ground of authority, and the authority is itself tested and vindicated by its compliance with the principles:—in every such case the real mode of escape from the apparent fallacy being to fall back upon the universal opinion of those who have studied the subject, the uniform consent of those who have had any opportunity of forming a judgment, ὃ γὰρ πᾶσι δοκεῖ, τοῦτο εἶναι φάμεν. ὁ δὲ ἀναίσιχτος ταυτήν τὴν πλίσιν, οὐ πάνυ πιστότερον ἔρεῖ. He then supposes a case in taste and in religion in which traditionary teaching should be wholly lost, and an agreement such as we now enjoy should be arrived at through the long, and difficult and dangerous process of comparing conclusions, expelling errors, and forming such a system of opinions as, on the whole, should seem to square most nearly with such relics or portions of the truth as men might retain; and imagines with what jealousy this imperfect substitute for tradition would be preserved, when men had once felt what it was to be without a guide. He further illustrates the necessity of such guidance from the inconsistent practice of the sectarians themselves. But the passage should be given in his own words:—

“ Yet what is their practice when they have thus deduced their form of belief from the Bible, and that alone? They immediately proceed to teach it on the Church's principle; they thoroughly imbue the minds of their disciples and children with it, before giving them the Scripture; and having done this, they, like the Church, place the Bible in their

hands, that they may know the certainty of those things in which they have been (would that we could say truly) instructed. The *deduction* is but for one generation at the utmost; thenceforward it becomes a *tradition*. Its origin is heretical; the means of its perpetration catholic.” —*Lect. v. p. 210.*

In pursuing the application of his argument to subjects of national education and its connected topics, Mr. Woodgate appears to us to maintain sound and valuable views. We were much struck with the following passage, in which he shews how exactly the doctrine of infant baptism fits in with the practical working of the traditionary system. Having spoken of the manner in which the Church claims to educate, by directing the growth of the mind, and biasing it early towards the truth by moral training, he proceeds to speak of the doctrine of infant baptism;—

“Nor is it necessary to enter on the question of the degree of grace vouchsafed to the new-born soul of one brought to Christ in infancy, and washed in the laver of regeneration. It is enough that it be commensurate with the reason and the will. If the one be but a germ, a mere seed, as yet latent and undeveloped, the other is no more. If the one be not perceptible, neither is the other: though he would be rash who would take upon himself to determine when moral responsibility commences, even to those who are not under grace; still more, to fix it at that point where the evidences of it are first discernible to the eyes of others. All that is here contended for is, that if the influence of the blessed Spirit be, in its operations, adapted to the nature of man, and calculated to supply, as far as was compatible with a state of probation, the wants which reason had pointed out; we should expect that it would begin with (if sought in time through the appointed means) and be commensurate with the moral powers:—that if designed to purify the heart, correct the passions, and regulate the will, it would not wait for that period to which the operation of human power would necessarily be limited. We should expect that it would be implanted early, from the beginning, as seed, perhaps the smallest of all seeds; dormant awhile and undeveloped, like the germ of the moral sense and moral faculties; yet taking the lead of them; able to keep that lead if duly cultivated and watered by the refreshing dews of God’s grace, sought through his appointed means; springing up in the goodly heritage, thus mercifully reclaimed from the waste and wilderness of sin; increasing day by day, utterly abolishing the whole body of sin, and bringing forth fruit unto holiness.”—*Lect. vi. pp. 228—230.*

In the two last lectures Mr. Woodgate pursues the analogical argument in more detail. He shows that the objections against the reasoning on which tradition is defended lie with equal force against that which proves the genuineness and authority of Holy Scripture itself; and that tradition enters most essentially into the argument in favour of Holy Scripture. He shews that

the temper of mind, fostered under the traditional teaching of the Church, is precisely that which is requisite to perfect and complete the moral constitution of man, and that the opposite temper is alien to his duty, value, and happiness. He traces, with great effect, the analogy between the religious and the civil communities; shewing how Popery and Sectarianism in the religious answer to despotism and democracy in the civil constitution. He also maintains, that as in the investigation of all moral subjects, an important element or principle in fixing the standard of truth is the consent of mankind,—which is, in fact, on all such subjects the ultimate reference and criterion of truth,—so, only in a far higher degree, (because the Church has the Promise,) the agreement and consent of all ages of Christians is a valuable auxiliary in the search of Christian truth, and still more an unfailing source of comfort and confidence to those who follow in the train of such a “cloud of witnesses.”

Whatever may be thought of the value of this analogy, or its force as an argument, there can be no doubt of the beauty of the following passage, in which Mr. Woodgate describes the unspeakable comfort of feeling oneself safe in the train of the Apostolic Church in times of doubt and difficulty. It will form a suitable conclusion to our remarks.

“Our belief in these” (the Christian doctrines) “is assailed. The evidence which once came home to our hearts with such conviction, seems to have lost their force; the declarations of Scripture, which once seemed so clear and decisive, are powerless or explained away; gloom and despondency seem gathering around us; God’s Spirit seem to be deserting us. Now in hours of darkness, trying as they are, what have they to rely on who have hitherto trusted to the vaunted privilege of private judgment; even assuming their faith itself without regard to its ground to have been pure? That on which they have hitherto leaned has given way; and what remains to support and cheer them? Not thus unsupported in the like fiery trial is the humble apostolic churchman. It is then that he feels the value of his previous littleness in the spiritual world. It is then that he feels the value of his membership in the Church, and the blessedness of the communion of saints. Instead of abandoning himself to despair or indifference he falls back on the Church as a whole, and leans on the body of saints. And this, not in blind confidence as superseding his personal faith, or absolving him from his individual responsibility; (that were Popery); but as interposing a suspensive power, a temporary refuge, to shield him till the tyranny be overpast. As an insulated being in the world of spirits he would fall: but he turns to the Church—to the saints in the Church—and there sees that every thing is against his present doubts and fears, and they receive a check, which, if it does not restore confidence, at least prevents despair and renews inquiry, and encourages him to pray and to hope. He looks to the Church and there sees that this, of which he now doubts, has from

the beginning been regarded as sacred truth ; that whatever he may now think, whatever he has heard ungodly men avow, that there at least, in the Church, the wise, the good, the saints of every age, have held it in unity of faith. That that Lord, whom he is now perhaps tempted to deny, the Holy Church throughout all the world hath ever acknowledged to be the Father of an Infinite Majesty, the honourable, true and only Son,—also the Holy Ghost the Comforter ; hath ever confessed that Thou art the King of Glory, O Christ ! Thou art the everlasting Son of the Father.”—Lect. vii., p. 315—317.

ART. VIII.—*Contrasts; or a Parallel between the noble Edifices of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, and similar Buildings of the present day; shewing the present decay of Taste: accompanied by appropriate Text.* By A. Welby Pugin, Architect. London: printed for the Author, and published by him at St. Marie's Grange, near Salisbury, Wilts. 1836.

THIS is certainly an interesting work, displaying great knowledge, and a perfect taste in Gothic architecture; it is also respectable from its apparent zeal and sincerity; but it betrays an utter want of either soundness or fairness in its pretence at argument. Mr. Pugin wishes to prove that the Reformation debased the architecture of our country by lowering and even destroying its religious sentiment; and he would infer that the genius of the Church of England is inferior to that of the Church of Rome. With this view he has exhibited parallels taken from all subjects, chiefly indeed ecclesiastical, but as he has not confined his contrasts to them only, he appears fearlessly to stake the question on the respective merits of the whole architecture of the two periods. We need scarcely inform such of our readers as chance to have seen Mr. Pugin's attempts at controversy, that he has performed his undertaking more in the spirit of the pleader than the judge. His parallels are not quite so impartially selected as Plutarch's; in fact he has chosen some of the most magnificent works of English antiquity, coupled them with some of the most meagre, cold, and tasteless of modern times, and then left the reader to imply, *ex uno disce omnes*. In doing this he has broken the condition laid down by himself in his title-page, if we understand it right. He has not contrasted with “the noble edifices of the 14th and 15th centuries” “similar buildings of the present day,” if similarity implies equality of rank and pretension; for example, the gateway of King's College in the Strand does not pretend to be of the same class with the great gateway of Christ

Church. Mr. Pugin, by taking modern buildings professedly second rate, has deprived his argument of whatever strength it might seem to possess. His method is much the same as that adopted in many novels of our age, designed to recommend a particular system of religious opinions, or, as in the case of Mr. Cooper's novels, a particular nation at the expense of some rival: though historians as well as novelists are apt to adopt this expedient, whenever they set out with wishing to prove certain opinions. The *best specimens* on one side are matched against the *worst* on the other, contrary to that rule referred to by Cicero,* "*quod specimen naturæ capi debeat ex optimâ quâque naturâ.*" If Mr. Pugin would like to see an illustration of his method of reasoning in an instance where he will not be disposed to admit its fairness, we would recommend to his perusal a series of Irish tales, published some years back, painting in the darkest colours the working of Popery in that ill-fated island. The Romanists there introduced are described, with the priests at their head, as all guilty of murder, perjury, &c., in various degrees of participation; while the Protestant author of course assigns to the members of his own communion as great a superiority as the painter in the fable. Now it is not by drawing *false*, i. e. non-existent, characters that he effects his purpose, for we doubt not such characters are to be found, (Mr. Pugin himself would hardly deny that there are in Ireland *some* such as are there described,) but by introducing the *worst specimens*, and leaving the reader to infer that they are a fair sample of the whole.

Though, as we understand, Mr. Pugin has himself been converted to Popery by the argument of his Contrast, he has himself illustrated how unfairly it may be applied. In truth, though architecture is much affected by religious feeling, it is not the proper school of theology. Theology is learnt elsewhere. For we do not agree with Mr. Pugin in thinking that building a church is "the most glorious occupation that can fall to the lot of man," (p. 2,) nor do we think that the power of doing this well involves as a necessary consequence a right judgment, or even common sense in religious questions. Mr. Pugin, who has publicly expressed his belief of the absurdest Popish legends, and who therefore goes very far, may perhaps also go the length of saying that the perfection of Christian doctrine coincided historically with the perfection of Gothic architecture. But few Catholics of even his own communion will think the fifteenth century the purest and truest age of the Church. For our part we cannot allow an appeal to fine buildings from the Scriptures

* Tusc. Quæst. l. i. 14.

and from Catholic antiquity. Such an appeal seems to us on a par with those temptations to a mere natural religion, which are presented by a love of science, and a keen relish for the beauties of the material creation. But no "temple made with hands" can vie with that "heaven, and heaven of heavens," which yet cannot contain the Divine glory, and concerning which we are warned emphatically, "Take ye therefore good heed unto yourselves, lest thou lift up thine eyes unto heaven, and when thou seest the sun and the moon, and the stars, even all the host of heaven, shouldst be driven to worship them and serve them." The churchman may indeed reverence the monuments of his forefather's piety, and with discretion may emulate the zeal which raised such mighty works, but if he attempts to make them the foundation of his faith and his arguments, he runs great risk of being betrayed into that portion of error which alloys the best and the noblest works of man.

We must beg *in limine* to express our dissent from one particular in the author's account of his work given in the title-page. The Contrasts are not "accompanied by appropriate text." They, unfair as they generally are, exhibit an exquisite taste, and confirm us in our previous opinion that Mr. Pugin is the first Gothic architect of the age. Having conceded this praise, and feeling that we owe no special mercy to this hot-headed gentleman, we take the liberty of saying that nothing could be so *unappropriate* as such letter-press to such drawings. However much we may differ from the author on this point, (and authors are proverbially ill judges of the comparative merits of their different productions,) we must say that the *written* part of his work is childish both in style and argument; in fact, it is scarcely worth reading, but for such remarks in it as are purely architectural, and for the quotations from Stow, Dugdale, Heylin, &c., and old French historians, in the Appendix. Mr. Pugin ought never to write, when he can draw so infinitely better. Architecture is his proper language, his natural channel of expression, not words. He should for the sake of his own reputation never dispute but with *σῆματα λυγρὰ*, such as the ingenious caricatures lying before us, leaving us to draw our own conclusions from them. This world is a system of compensations; *non omnis fert omnia tellus*; Homer was blind, and Mr. Pugin cannot argue. Nature has made him a first rate architect, but amerced him of logic. Nay, the peculiar gift seems in his case to exert a directly prejudicial effect on his reasoning powers. He mistakes a pretty sketch for an historical fact, harmony of parts for the consistency of truth, a suitable back ground for an admitted premiss, and a rich perspective for a train of conclusions. Johnson called Goldsmith

"an inspired idiot;" but our author goes a step further than that fascinating poet in his absurdities. Goldsmith only ventured to say,

"A time there was ere England's griefs began,
When every rood of ground maintained its man, &c. &c."

Much fruitless labour having been spent in endeavours to ascertain the chronology of this golden era, Mr. Pugin has set the question for ever at rest by assigning it to the fifteenth century, i. e. the desolating wars of the Roses. We will however for the present pass over "the appropriate text," and proceed to take the *Contrasts* in order.

Mr. Pugin might have introduced, if he pleased, the restoration of the nave and west end of Hereford cathedral as a specimen of the bad taste of the last generation; but the altar piece has no place here, as it has no claim whatever to be included in the nineteenth century. It was erected more than a hundred years since by Bishop Bisse, Hoadly's predecessor in that see, who is described by Britton as a liberal, but not very tasteful, benefactor to the cathedral, and who also spent nearly 3000*l.* on the palace. Besides this audacious anachronism, Mr. Pugin with his usual licence first contrasts this miserable wall of panels and pilasters with one of the most beautiful screens in the world, viz. that at Durham; and then, as if that were not enough, he represents the former still as death, and lonely as the north pole, while he makes the former living with worship.

Redcliffe church, Bristol, one of the most splendid structures of that class in England, is contrasted with the new church in Langham Place, which by the consent of all parties bears the palm of uncouthness and absurdity. We believe it has not even the merit of originality, as it looks much as if it were borrowed from Banbury church in Oxfordshire, a work of the last century; excepting that Mr. Nash has demonstrated the possibility of making unsightliness still more unsightly by adding his celebrated spire to that exemplar. Redcliffe church was a work of *private*, Langham Place church of *national*, munificence; this alone would go far to account for the contrast.

Nothing can be more unfair than a contrast between the Chapel Royal, Brighton, and St. George's Chapel, "Winsor." The one is, we believe, an apartment originally meant for a ball-room, but now fitted up and sometimes used for divine service, in a marine pavilion built of the most unsubstantial material, and which may be taken down any day,—a thing which in actual structure as well as in name is very little more than a clustre of marquees: the other is a collegiate church in the chief palace and castle of our sovereigns; the sacred spot wherein have worshipped dynasty after

dynasty ; the sepulchre of their fathers ; and the sanctuary of the most illustrious order of knighthood in Christendom. Moreover the one is a private room, the other a public church. Mr. Pugin must be aware that Roman Catholics frequently devote private rooms, and even parts of rooms, to Divine service, perhaps more than we do : and when this is done they do not think of bestowing on the spot thus used as much religious ornament as in the case of an absolute consecration. We cannot object to the practice. It would of course be satisfactory to see the sovereign surrounded by the court resorting to a public church at least on all our holy days, offering the sacrifice of thanksgiving, and calling upon the name of the Lord, "in the sight of all His people, in the courts of the Lord's house, even in the midst of thee, O Jerusalem ;" and we strongly deprecate what we fear is a spreading practice, of turning the drawing-room into a conventicle on the Sunday, from mere regard to personal ease, or for the liberty of choosing one's own doctrine : yet we cannot but feel that climate and health are not to be absolutely disregarded ; and in the particular case now brought before us, no one can be more anxious than we lest a too scrupulous regard to public obligations should "quench the light in Israel." Putting aside, however, the gross unfairness of Mr. Pugin's contrast, it must be admitted that nothing can be more unchurchlike than the modern interior he has presented to us, with its thin cast iron pillars, tawdry hangings, gew-gaw window cornices, and the naked cove of the ceiling. The altar is either no where, or it is behind the preacher, who bestows on it the whole of his back (and a most unsightly back it is which is presented by the modern episcopal costume) in order that he may give his undivided front to the presence of earthly majesty.

Another celebrated work of individual zeal and taste, Bishop Skirlaw's chapel in Yorkshire, is recommended by the contrast of St. Pancras chapel ; wherein are assembled so ingeniously all the various absurdities of modern gothic, that not having seen the original we can hardly believe it to be a sober fact. The front (and the building is all front) is a huge dead wall, to which the architect has endeavoured in vain to give relief and organization. In this hopeless attempt he raised three huge doors to about twice the height that either use requires, or grace allows. The middle of three he has most gratuitously distinguished from its brethren with a lofty foolscap canopy, adorned with crockets, and a finial in keeping : of which unfair distinction it has little reason to be proud. The tower is about as high as the front is wide. Its corner buttresses, together with four other bare shafts, surmounted by pinnacles to match, are spread over the front at equal intervals,

after the manner of Greek pilasters. There they stand without either rhyme or reason, supporting nothing that requires support; withstanding no lateral pressure: discharging no office either ornamental or useful, they look like a procession of paupers dragging *honoris causâ* the parish fire engine round the town, a mere exhibition of profitless labour. There is not another buttress or pinnacle to be seen in the building (if Mr. Pugin's drawing is to be trusted) except a chimney pot surmounting the east end: for the church is built on the modern principle of putting not only the best leg, but all the legs, forwards. Meanwhile, though the façade with its tower can answer no assignable purpose but to conceal the huge span of the straddling roof behind, this provoking member, *λάας ἀναιδής*, still makes its appearance with relentless obstinacy on each side of the tower, and over the coping of the front. The said span, endeavouring to observe a happy mean between the width of the tower and that of the whole front, offends both those proportions; and like an ungenteel acquaintance, or an indiscreet partizan, it will not be kept in the back ground, it will come forwards and ruin the cause. So little is the builder master of the architectural parts of speech, that they are to him a system of inevitable evils and unavailing remedies. One evil leads to another. In vain he tries to hide the roof with the front; in vain he tries to relieve the front with the tower and the range of buttresses; in vain he tries to give the latter meaning and connection by the equality of their intervals, and the continuation of the cornice and coping. He can no more give expression to his materials than he can like Amphion make them dance. The beautiful structure which Mr. Pugin contrasts with Mr. Inwood's workmanship is a very good model for chapels of ease, although from the width of the span and the lowness of the tower its proportions are rather dumpy.

We next have sepulchral monuments contrasted: and here certainly Mr. Pugin has no small triumph as far as concerns his comparison of the two eras; though, as we hope soon to show, his theological deductions from the comparison are good for nothing. In point of rank and costliness Chantrey's monument of the Earl of Malmesbury, in Salisbury Cathedral, is a fair match for "Admiral Gervase altar" in Winchelsea Church. But what a disparity in the result! The admiral is recumbent in prayer, with angels watching at his head; having "fought a good fight, and finished his course, and kept the faith," he is "offered up" on a splendid altar, whose sculptures fitly represent "the service of our faith." The bold and graceful canopy over his head, while it expresses such honour and regard as men may pay to their departed brethren, reminds us also, with its wide-spread arch, of the

shadowing of Almighty wings, the presence in which they are now hidden from the provoking of all men, the tabernacle in which they are kept secretly from the strife of tongues. On the other hand, the earl is sitting up in bed, and with rhetorical address, and the appearance of full health and strength, his garments and the bed-clothes excepted, is expounding the Scriptures. We will ask by the way with regard to monuments in general, what can be more natural or more religious than to represent departed Christians as the admiral before us, with the single exception of one popish novelty which we shall shortly notice; what more unnatural than to represent them as the modern fashion is? The admiral is neither fighting, nor commanding, nor haranguing, nor preaching, nor sitting in a chair either speculating or talking, nor standing in an attitude of abstract defiance, nor imploring the *viator* to stop and read his epitaph, nor looking straight before him and neither acting nor talking, nor yet is he praying as men pray on earth and as monumental effigies were very frequently designed in the century following the Reformation, nor is he sleeping as men sleep on earth, nor is he dying either in battle or on his bed, nor is he dead as we see death, nor is he being lamented by cherubs or trumpeted by fame after death, all of which varieties of existence are now to be seen in quick succession as one traverses the aisles of Westminster or any other cathedral; but he is resting from his labours, sleeping *in Christ*, in expectant blessedness, still praying, still with his loins girded about, and his sword by his side, waiting for his Lord. Imitations of the life that now is have their merit and their place; but that place seems rather the market, the senate-house, the public library, the exhibition-room, the private saloon, or the temple of Fame in a nobleman's pleasure grounds:—they are out of place in a church, where we need rather to be drawn out of the life that now is, to those states of being which only the eye of faith can see, and which we now know only in part. The needful caution that we do not presume beyond the limits of that partial knowledge, should not defraud us of all the lawful means of realizing what we do know. We have lately had occasion to observe on this subject.* Our modern monuments seem more to aim at realizing a heathen's immortality of fame, than a Christian's immortality of being and happiness; and therefore they endeavour to perpetuate the deeds done in the flesh. Hence their secular variety of action. Whereas one simple notion seems to pervade the monuments of what we are pleased to call the dark ages; they are not imitative, but poetical and religious; they are expressive, it does not much matter which, either of a Christian's

* Vide Article on Early Ecclesiastical Art in the last Number.

hope, or of a Christian's feeling with regard to his departed brethren, or of his belief as to their actual present state. Scripture does encourage us to think that the persons they represent are in some real sense present in the church, in some such spiritual guise as these monuments attempt to describe. They are in unison with the church wherein they are placed, which should be filled with the glory of God not the deeds of men, and which should rather aim at excluding the world. It is sad to think that the very fact of their having a religious and doctrinal, instead of a secular and historical, character, should be the reason why they seem unintelligible and barbarous to this generation, or rather to that which is now passing away. Mr. Pugin's drawing obliges us to notice what we would gladly have omitted, that on the wall in the back of the sepulchral recess, are some faint outlines representing the admiral praying to the Virgin and Child. As this appendage is not a substantial part of the monument, we avail ourselves of that opportunity of putting it out of the question in our comparison of the two figures. We also readily accept the manner in which it is introduced as an emblem of the superficial and separable relation of all the Romish novelties as compared with the deep foundations of Catholic truth.

So far from this contrast being unfair, we think Mr. Pugin might have found many examples still less creditable to the taste of the nineteenth century. E. g. what can be more indefensible than a figure in a sitting posture, on a lofty pedestal, with no expression but mere thoughtfulness, in a church and that a Norman cathedral, on the mid floor between the pillars, placed anyhow, with no regard to the character or the bearings of the sacred building, but only in such a site and position that the light may do justice to the sculpture? For our own part we were as much startled on first seeing the figure we refer to, as if we had seen the original himself in the same irreverent situation. Why should not the departed be supposed to feel, as much as we who remain, that they are in the presence of Him before whom all do live? A sovereign or any gentleman expects to see all who enter his house show a certain respectful regard for his presence; and whatever they may be doing, or however they may dispose themselves, still to do it all with a certain reference to him. Why should not the same observance and the same decencies be shown in the court of our heavenly King?

King's Cross, Battle Bridge, the workmanship of one Mr. Geary, at the expense and direction, we should think, of certain paving and lighting commissioners, is contrasted with Chichester Cross, which is the most beautiful structure of the kind in the kingdom, erected by Bishop Story, who was translated to this see,

A. D. 1475. The former consists of numerous Grecian details piled over one another Babel-wise, with not quite so much taste and effect as one may see in twelve-cakes, or in the landscapes on the more common description of pottery. The uncouth pile is surmounted or rather straddled by the figure of a king, whose ball and sceptre correspond with the cross which Mr. Pugin's drawing has restored to the rival edifice. "The general intent of market crosses was," as Milner informs us in his History of Winchester, "to excite public homage to the religion of Christ crucified, and to inform men with a sense of morality and piety in the ordinary transactions of life." There seems to have been an almost providential encouragement of the use of such mementos in that memorable interference of the Deity in the market-place of Devises in the last century. We are also informed by several ancient writers, that sermons were frequently preached from these crosses. This was, perhaps, partly for the benefit of those country people who had not many opportunities of hearing sermons at home; at least we are acquainted with one foundation for a sermon in the chief church of a town at eleven o'clock on the market day, with that charitable purpose; which is now unhappily frustrated by the circumstance of the market opening early in the morning instead of twelve, which was the ancient hour. Market crosses were also capable of affording shelter from the weather to a considerable number of people. None of these uses, either religious or secular, are aimed at in King's Cross, Battle Bridge, which however ministers in its way to the present order of things by containing a "police station," as is announced in conspicuous letters over the door.

Mr. Pugin contrasts the entrance of King's College from the Strand with the gateway of the great quadrangle at Christ Church, Oxford. We will premise that the choice of style in the former was a matter of necessity, the buildings of King's College being a completion of the plan of Somerset House. The gateway in question being also not a chief entrance to the whole of the building, but only a more convenient approach to the King's College part of it, was obliged to be plain and simple.—We consider it really an elegant arch, with as much decoration as was allowable in the above circumstances.

But we will ask Mr. Pugin to look a little beyond the externals into the respective ways and means by which these two gateways were built; and we think even he will feel he was rather unfortunate in exhibiting them in juxtaposition before the eyes of a supposed inquiring religionist. We have a right to take the ways and means into account, since if the founders of King's College had had unlimited resources they would probably have

built it in a situation and style more worthy of an *alma mater* for the youth of the metropolis; at least they would not have made it a wing to the river front of Somerset House with a passage from the Strand. Their resources were limited because procured in the most scrupulous and honourable way; by an appeal to the *living* liberality of educated Christians. None but the higher class of minds could appreciate the importance of the object, though perhaps it appeared to some such minds both then and now, that the advantages of the plan were outweighed by the disadvantages. But Cardinal Wolsey's resources were unbounded, because there were no bounds to his power and but few to his conscience. He prepared for the foundation of his college by the suppression of forty-two or more religious houses in all parts of England, to the annual amount of 3000 ducats of gold. This spoliation proved, as Mr. Pugin is well aware, and must daily deplore, a most pregnant example; nay, "on Wolsey's attainder Henry VIII. gave to his hungry courtiers many of the properties belonging to the suppressed monasteries, which had been expressly set apart for the endowment of the cardinal's college."* In this contrast then, it must be allowed, there was not equal room for the display of taste and magnificence in the two cases—and this difference arises from circumstances by no means discreditable to our generation.

It would have been more honest to contrast old and new Lambeth than old and new Ely House: yet we have not perhaps more reason to be ashamed of the discrepancy in the latter instance, than Mr. Pugin; for it happens to recal other considerations than a decline in taste and in zeal for religion. The bishops were once fewer in number than now, with larger dioceses, so that they could not attend to them adequately even if they would; and in fact they suffered the greater part of the kingdom to pass from their pastoral care into the hands of the regular orders: they were wealthier than now, pluralists not only in rectories and prebendaries, which were to them no more than herrings to a whale, but in whole dioceses; they were often deeply immersed in politics and civil occupations, serving tables, and those not merely of the Church but of the State; they sometimes led rebellions and were chief agents in great revolutions—witness Morton, occupant of this very Ely Palace, concerned in bringing in Henry VII.; and they would even appear in the field of battle, translating themselves

" Out of the speech of peace, that bears such grace,
Into the harsh and boisterous tongue of war ;

* Memorials of Oxford, vol. i. p. 43.

Turning their books to graves, their ink to blood,
 Their pens to lances ; and their tongue divine
 To a loud trumpet and a point of war."*

They were also great temporal princes, and as such had large establishments and retinues sometimes of a very unecclesiastical character ; many of them were selected for the very worst reasons, and were frequently persons more unfit for their holy office than even the present "powers that be" would venture to intrude into it. They attended generally but little to their dioceses, and some never saw them, an extent of non-residence greater even than that of Bishop Watson, the most flagrant instance in modern times. All these considerations throw a cloud over the splendours of the original Ely Palace, and reconcile us somewhat to its homely and unobtrusive successor. The present occupant of that see is, we will hope, better employed than in political intrigues to change the succession. His diocese is his home, and in London he needs only a decent lodging for the short time that would suffice for personal conference with his brethren of the sacred college, and while attending his parliamentary duties, which ought not to be so great a drain as they are on the time and solicitude of the bishops. Sad as the downfall from old to new Ely Place may seem in appearance, and sad as the history of this downfall may be, still, taking all things into account, if these are to be our only two alternatives, we prefer the plain house in Dover Street, three windows wide, with a cellar-kitchen, and three stories high.

Putting however these considerations out of the question, it is impossible not to admire the beautiful clustre of buildings which Mr. Pugin has, we know not on what authority, given us, as a restoration of the old palace. It is a striking exemplification of several principles which we have always thought indispensable in compositions of a partly religious, partly domestic, character, such as a college or a nobleman's house. The church or chapel ought to be distinct and pre-eminent, the chief object of interest. It should be the "goodliest" building in the whole group, and "from its head and shoulders higher" than all the rest. It should have entire possession of its own site, with nothing else above or below, *a centro usque ad cælum* ; it should be more massive, loftier, and more adorned than all the other buildings ; and have certain characteristics to itself, such as pinnacles, niches, and windows of the more dignified proportions. Next in rank, and still distinct from the rest, should be those buildings which are for the common use of the whole society or household, as the hall, library,

* Second Part of King Henry IV. act iv. sc. 1.

cloisters, &c.; each building in suitable place and costume, so to speak. Those parts that are intended for private use should be chastened and subdued into a still lower degree of humility: they should be low, simple, and even monotonous. It follows that although there would be order in the true sense of the word, viz. that order in which *cuique suum*, every separate purpose has its respective place and honour, still there would not be the order of uniformity, of well-balanced members, which appertains more to the Grecian than the Gothic style, but which we should be content to dispense with in any style whatever. This studied uniformity is never found in pure Gothic, and we could mention many cases in which it seems to have been studiously disregarded: we may therefore conclude that it is contrary to the sentiment of that style of architecture, which is the very opposite of our one-ideaed modern systems. The Italian notion of a uniform and imposing façade does not appear to have been introduced into England till the Reformation. Perhaps the chief front of Christ Church is the earliest specimen of the kind. The colleges rebuilt two centuries since present, we think, sad violations of the above principles. Everything is sacrificed to the front and quadrangle; and we may add to the convenience and luxury of the private rooms. Chapel, hall, &c., are swamped in a vast hive, not of cells, but of spacious and airy apartments, and are all under the same roof. Perhaps the windows of chapel and hall are uniform, and balance one another; perhaps several of them are sham, or as good as sham, lighting only a stair-case or private rooms. The ornaments are equally diffused over the whole. Everything gives way to the Procrustean principle of a consistent plan. Such edifices appear to us apt types of some modern systems; the Church only, or the Bible only; faith only, or works only; election only, or free will only; establishmentism, or voluntarism, &c. As an illustration of the above remarks, let any one consider how much more beautiful a group New College must have been before the addition of the third story to the quadrangle, and of the garden front. We do not hesitate to say that most of the so-called Gothic edifices of the present day are only Italian plans with Gothic details. Give them square windows, pilasters, and balustrades, instead of pointed windows, buttresses, and battlements, and you see at once which style the proportions and composition are derived from.

Of the remaining Contrasts we will only ask whether it is fair to compare a common cast-iron pump with a handsome stone conduit, or Sir John Soane's house with the work of any sensible architect of any age or country, or the Angel inn at Oxford with its namesake at Grantham; seeing that the latter was not an inn

originally, but a commandery of the Knights Templars, and took its name from the angels sculptured on the front? *

Mr. Pugin displays much perverted ingenuity in his choice of the living circumstance with which he dresses up his Contrasts—a licence assumed by all orators and satirists, but good for nothing as an argument. Thus in one of the Chapels Royal the Host is the object of adoration, the chief tenant of the building, the converging point of the perspective: the altar, the crucifix, the gorgeous candelabra, and saints above and below under lofty canopies and in the many compartments of the glorious east window, are the next chief features. In the Brighton Chapel, occupying the corresponding part, and seemingly the sole object of attention, is the sovereign and his court. The most solemn act of worship in the Catholic ritual is contrasted with the Protestant *opus operatum*, or sermon; rows of stately ecclesiastics with a mingled mass of ladies and gentlemen; devotion with easy negligence; the tonsure with the wig and lawn sleeves, &c. Mr. Pugin has, however, overshot his mark. We confess our taste is too primitive for his theatrical exhibitions and his embroidered priests, *picti squalentia terga*. The pomp and the exclusively clerical character of the scene in his drawing of St. George's Chapel suggests to us an agreeable third contrast, not in building, but in persons and worship. Rather than go back four centuries with Mr. Pugin, we would content ourselves with going back only half a century to see George III. attending service daily in this same building, and responding heart and soul, so that all the congregation might hear and join. We have already mentioned the use Mr. Pugin has made of this mode of colouring in the contrast of the two altar screens; but he never omits an opportunity. He sets off the gorgeous architecture of Redcliffe Church with an equally gorgeous procession of ecclesiastics descending the broad flights of steps winding round the base of the massive tower. In the midst of them a stately *feretory* rises out of a crowd of heads; "all the city is moved," every knee is bent and every head is bowed in adoration before the sacred thing it enshrines. On the other hand St. Pancras Chapel is represented like Cerberus, *fame rabidâ tria guttura pandens*; for from its three gaping vomitories above described issue precipitately from sermon to dinner as many streams of hungry mortals in about the same order as boys released from school, as if there was something very pleasant before and very unpleasant behind them. The clock points at five minutes to four, and a pot-boy with a dozen tankards of porter is knocking at an oilman's door. In the foreground

* Turner's Collections, &c. p. 37.

Mr. Pugin contrives with malice prepense to bring in a cast-iron lamp-post, and contrasts with it a very elegant church-yard cross. But besides that no one in his senses can quarrel with a street lamp, we will venture to ask our unreasonable opponent, whether in point of grace and suitableness the one in question is worse than the Egyptian obelisk before St. Peter's?

Again, in the drawing of the Earl of Malmesbury's monument Mr. Pugin adroitly contrives to take in the unsightly naked foot of some sitting figure, of which Bacon is the sculptor; and he contrasts a cold heartless stone floor with variegated square bricks, monumental slabs, and brasses. We suppose also that the spiked palisade guarding Chantry's performance is considered to be significant, as Mr. Pugin takes every opportunity of exposing our universal use of gates and "bars of iron," which are, we confess, more necessary than picturesque. But we will venture to ask Mr. Pugin at what period of her history has England most resembled "the land of unwall'd villages," of "them that are at rest, that dwell safely, all of them dwelling without walls, and having neither bars nor gates;" the fifteenth or the nineteenth century? Our author evidently wishes to be an architectural Hogarth, and as he compares an unknown, because an obsolete, epoch, with one that is well known and familiar, of course he has plenty of materials at command. He can people our streets 400 years back as he likes. Thus venerable monks and insolent policemen, convents and gin-shops, sacred processions and omnibusses, crucifixes and ambulatory placards, picturesque gabels and rows of chimney-pots, are opportunities of contrast as easy as they are confessedly diverting. We need scarcely say that we could in many cases turn the tables against Mr. Pugin. Hotels de Villes have seen strange scenes, more shocking and anti-catholic, perhaps, than the group of constables dragging a wretched delinquent to justice, which he introduces before the Guildhall of London. It is easy enough to draw the water of West Cheap conduit flowing free as air, and on the other hand to represent one of the pompous close-buttoned gentry above referred to driving away a poor child with a pitcher from the cast-iron pump before the Police-station of St. Anne's, Soho, the said pump being already chained and padlocked. But where is water more accessible than in London? Is it true, by the way, that to the front of this *Police-station* is affixed a table of fees to the clerk, sexton, &c. on marriages, burials, and christenings?

Mr. Pugin does not hesitate to include Cardinal Wolsey's foundations in his own side of the Contrast, as he commits himself to both Christ Church and Hampton Court. (Appropriate Text, p. 4.) He is perfectly welcome to both, if he can prove

his claim to them; as we do not consider either the circumstances of the first foundation unexceptionable, nor again in our estimation is Hampton Court a suitable residence for a bishop. We do not think either a very Catholic structure. But Mr. Pugin is not strictly correct in including these buildings in the "fourteenth and fifteenth centuries;" they belong to the sixteenth, and were not begun till the Reformation had made some progress both abroad and at home. It is not denied that they belong to a style of architecture and a religious system which ceased at the Reformation; but in a nice handling of this subject it is important to observe their exact date. They are indications of the *last* phase of Romanism in this country. Mr. Pugin claims Wolsey's buildings, and therefore the man himself and his deeds; but we think he will find it by no means the easiest chapter in the difficulties of Romanism. We do not mean to say that every Papist is answerable for the deeds of every other Papist; as we should be the last to admit a similar necessity in the case of Protestants. But, besides that Mr. Pugin's whole argument turns on a comparison of certain actual fruits of the two systems, we do mean to say that all Wolsey's deeds were so harmonious, nay, so interwoven one with another, that it is not possible to pick and choose out of them. We cannot put our finger on different parts of his conduct and say this was Catholic, and this the Protestant leaven. Christ Church was founded on spoliation, and stocked with Lutherans. The last was not intended, nay it was deplored, by the founder; but Wolsey made learning, not truth, the one thing needful, and found too late that he was obliged, as things then were, to have the new doctrines into the bargain. Mr. Pugin says (*Appropriate Text*, p. 8,) that the suppression of the smaller religions was only a prelude to the suppression of the larger, which soon followed; but he omits to say, what was said by the Catholics of that day, that the extensive suppression made with a view to the foundation of Christ Church was only a prelude to them both. Hampton Court again was built out of the proceeds of several bishoprics held together with a vast number of other preferments; and out of funds procured by various extortionate practices in the spiritual courts and in the discharge of Wolsey's legantine commission, and by various profitable compromises with the Italian holders of English sees. Wolsey's extravagance, luxury, and pride—his evil influence so many years over Henry's mind—his attachment to secular literature—the anti-papal character of his foreign policy—his own worldly life, which deprived him of the credit necessary to carry through that ecclesiastical reform which he had taken in hand, are all of a piece; and we

are ready to credit Mr. Pugin's side of the question with the whole.

With respect to the argument of Mr. Pugin's book, we are willing to go a good way with him in his premises, though we deny his conclusions. We admit, nay, we maintain, that architecture is a very considerable indication and development of religious habits. Man is constituted to express the various habits of his mind in many external ways. In this respect he is unconsciously under the same *law* as the brute creation, in every portion of which there is found a fixed immutable resemblance between the inward instinct and the outward appearance and manners. The only difference is, that brute animals can neither change their habits, nor their corresponding outward forms and ways. But man *may* change the one as well as the other. He *may* ascend and descend in the scale of moral habits, and run infinite changes on his spiritual nature. He may and does become of his own accord more or less disposed to obey, to fear, to love, to regard order and decency, to reverence, to apprehend spiritual things, to forego the dictates of sense and selfishness; he may more or less extend his sympathies to other persons besides those whom he sees and lives amongst, to other ages past and future, to other classes of beings and states of existence. All these variations produce a corresponding change in the outward man, in the manners and customs. The mind is imprinted in the features of the face and the movements of the limbs, the dress, the habitation, and the social institutions. These outward exhibitions are so inevitable and unfailing, that we may always tell the tree from its fruits. Man can only vary them by varying his spiritual nature, over which he alone of the living world has control. Thus a bird cannot change his plumage, his abode, his haunts, and mode of life; man can, because he can change his spiritual nature, which a bird cannot. But still the dress, the habitation, the manners and customs of the man, will ever as faithfully represent his moral nature, as do those of a bird. Thus man has only an *indirect* power over his outward actions; he *can* alter his mind, and his mind *will* alter his ways. Many circumstances indeed come in to affect the operation of this law, and to create infinite varieties and combinations. A man may inherit one modification of the human character, he may be educated in another, his chief sphere of action may be in a third, and he may be brought more or less into contact with innumerable others. He may superficially ape, or generously emulate, the customs of some superior caste; he may "willing, but with unwilling mind," submit to the yoke of a lower. His outward semblance may be either a rigid lifeless mask ambitiously assumed, and laboriously worn, or an obsolete

slough soon to be rejected ; and custom does always produce some degree of conformity. But all these causes can only partially deceive ; they can only vary the accidents of man's outward guise ; they leave it still essentially an unerring indication of the moral habit. There is no action whether small or great without significance ; a man cannot stand, or sit, or walk, or enter a room, or open his mouth, or build a house, or choose his clothes, or do any thing, however seemingly indifferent, without unconsciously revealing the mind within : this thoroughly governs and pervades him,—

“ totamque infusa per artus

Mens agitat molem, et toto se corpore miscet.”

Nor do we think there is any development and indication of ἡθός more direct and more generally true than architecture, and especially the building of churches, wherein, of course, the highest feelings are concerned. So far we anticipate Mr. Pugin's concurrence. We expect also to carry him with us, when we say that what is called in the mass Gothic architecture is as much the offspring of the Church as the classic was of paganism. We hold it to be a proper and peculiar way of expressing Church feeling ; a Divine gift suited to the Christian Church's wants, such as that spiritual gift of wisdom, and understanding, and knowledge in all manner of workmanship, which God put into the hearts of all that were wise-hearted, that they might make all that He had commanded Moses. We think it a natural language of the Church, so that we may guess, *ceteris paribus*, that men will appreciate it, and prefer it to the Grecian temple, or to a mixed style, or to no style at all, according as they are good Churchmen. The ancient Romans could not express their feelings, or suit their wants, with the Greek orders and proportions ; therefore they recast the Greek styles into new combinations, gaining thereby vastness, magnificence, height, &c. at the expense of simplicity and harmony. In like manner the Church remoulded the Roman style to suit her wants ; and as her wants were every where the same, the new order, or rather the succession of orders, that architectural series of which the first step had been the transition from Greece to Rome, became an universal attribute of the universal Church.

But there was from the beginning one remarkable exception, viz. Rome herself. That city, and many others in the heart of the old Roman empire, were already stocked with whole buildings, or with columns, and other ready shaped materials. They were early supplied with magnificent and durable churches almost beyond their need, which continued throughout the middle ages, while the other countries of Europe were going through the

changes of the so called Gothic style. Hence a modified adherence to the Classic became a confirmed peculiarity of Rome, of which St. Peter's, and many other cathedrals of Italy of the same or an earlier date, are illustrations. Hence, on the supposition that the Gothic is the *proper* style of the Catholic Church, Rome has thus accidentally become the school and disseminator of an anti-catholic style. It has not only retained the Classic in various degrees of deviation, but has also exerted a peculiar, and, we think, a prejudicial influence on the Gothic, by crossing it with Classic proportions and details.

We believe then it can be clearly proved that all the corruptions of English architecture have come from Italy. It had already before the Reformation lost much of its chasteness and gravity, witness the later Lady chapels and chantries attached to our cathedrals, especially Henry VII.'s chapel, and the altar screens of that date. If the style of the 15th century was not an actual corruption, it was at least symptomatic of one. The change however which took place contemporaneous with the Reformation was plainly a corruption, and as plainly did it come from Italy; as may be seen in Bishop Gardiner's chantry in Winchester cathedral. From that date to the beginning of this century we can hardly be said to have had any architectural style of our own; but very few churches were built, and those by persons who learnt their manner, or even brought their plans, from Italy, altering them so as to accommodate larger congregations of hearers. Every successive change in our domestic style has been manifestly from the same source. If there was, till lately, no great call for new churches, and if there was consequently no regular English school of church architecture, this does not prove such a corruption of the art, as would indicate a lower religious sentiment in the Anglican Church. It is more reasonable to consider that the Gothic branch of the art was obsolete, or in abeyance, for the three centuries after the Reformation.

We say, then, that the Anglican Church became *accidentally*, not from any change of sentiment, blind to the genius of the Gothic; and so did the whole of Christendom at the same time. Let Mr. Pugin answer that as he can. If the coincidence of time be allowed to prove that our architectural corruptions argue a loss of Catholic sentiment at the Reformation, the Tridentines are in precisely the same predicament. Not only in England, but in all Christendom, has Gothic architecture been an unknown art since the Reformation, like painting glass, or any other *ars perdit*a. All that time not one Gothic church or building of any kind has been designed or begun anywhere; and such as have been finished or added to, whether in England, France,

or Italy, have been finished or added to in the Palladian or some spurious style. What can be more obvious than that Laud's porticos to St. Paul's cathedral, and to St. Mary's, Oxford, the western towers of Westminster Abbey, and a multitude of other anomalies, often Gothic in composition though not in detail, were *accidental*,—not a free and fair development of the religious feelings of their authors. We are but putting into Mr. Pugin's mouth the only defence he can make for new fronts, completions of towers, porches, altar screens, heathen or barbarous monuments, &c. &c., in almost every city and village within the Romish communion. Accident will interfere in this as in every other mode of expressing our feelings; it is the only excuse for that declension in all the fine arts, architecture among the rest, which followed the conversion of the pagan world, and which has been regarded by sceptics as a proof of the inferior sentiment of Christianity. What else can be said for the many barbarous alterations of the remains of ancient Rome?

The Church of England has very pointedly refused to be answerable for the deeds of the Reformers, and therefore we can have no objection to confess freely many ill consequences of their deeds, which she has long time suffered. Such consequences as the general fear to build churches, when so many fair buildings had been destroyed, the popular reaction against any thing like outward magnificence in the worship of God, the preference of preaching to praying, and the vulgar errors that antiquity was darkness, and Catholicism was popery. Let those persons who still persist in fostering the anti-catholic reaction, the *mauvaise queue* of the Reformation, ὁ παλαιὸς δριμύς ἀλάστωρ Ἀτρέως,—let *them*, if they please, adopt and defend against Mr. Pugin every departure from ancient Catholic usage in this country. We say that the Church has always, whenever she could, repudiated such departures.

But if there ever was an occasion on which England has not borrowed its fashions from

“proud Italy;

Whose manners still our tardy apish nation

Limps after, in base imitation;”*

it is now in the revival of Gothic, which, though with all the absurdities and solecisms of a half-learned language, *is* being revived in England,—in *England alone* of all the nations of Christendom. She is now in this, as in other more important matters, returning to the old ways. Nor was it the Romanists in these islands who first revived Catholic architecture; on the contrary,

* King Richard II., Act ii. Sc. 1.

after it had been struggling for half a century, they have only just borrowed it from us within this ten years or so ; and are at this moment only adopting it in comparatively few of their new buildings. Mr. Pugin himself was a son of *our* Church, against whom he now turns the weapons *she* has given him : his knowledge was acquired in *our* school. We accept his argument. We grant that a relish for the beauties of Catholic architecture is a symptom of Catholic soundness. *Therefore* was that Church catholic which taught him that relish. The fact of his having written such a book, and being able to write such a book, confutes utterly his own conclusions. His book contradicts itself. If it were not for the present taste of that Church, Mr. Pugin would now perhaps be publishing "Examples of Palladian Architecture," or, with a still purer taste, be adapting to the purposes of his religion the fair proportions, and the graceful ornaments of the Erectheum, or the Maison Quarrière.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

ANOTHER volume of the "Library of the Fathers" is on the point of making its appearance, containing the Translation of St. Cyprian's Treatises; the translator is the Rev. C. Thornton, of Margaret Chapel.

To Mr. Lancaster the Church is indebted for some of the most striking and original views which have appeared in this day. His "Alliance of Education and Civil Government," and Bampton Lectures on the "Popular Evidence of Christianity," entitle him to respect and gratitude. Having said thus much, we hope he will not take it ill if we express much regret at the present publication, which consists of a Sermon preached against Dr. Hampden, with a Postscript; and a Correspondence which has arisen out of it between him and several university authorities. We will not enter into the merits of the question between them and him, because we are not so much reviewers of deeds done in Oxford, as of books published. Such a publication should not have come from such a quarter.

Mr. Merivale has published four beautiful Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge (J. W. Parker), to show that the Established Church is well adapted to impregnate the nation with the "spirit" of Christian truth. It is impossible to read them without feeling interest and respect for the writer, and being profited by his remarks; at the same time there is much fear lest such views of the character of the Christian Church as he implies should lead to the substitution of a secular spirit and mere literary taste for faith and practice. Mr. Merivale perhaps is in so little danger of such a calamity himself, that he does not see its likelihood in the case of others.

Mr. Crosthwaite has performed the very important service of editing Archbishop Potter's "Discourse of Church Government" (Tegg, where, however, *Mr. Crosthwaite's* edition must be inquired for.) He has corrected the Scripture references, examined the notes, printed at length the authorities, and added remarks of his own; besides appending at the end of the volume, indexes of texts, of authors, and of the principal matters. We earnestly recommend all students in divinity to avail themselves of the assistance afforded them in this valuable and authoritative work.

We are very glad to be able to rectify a misapprehension of ours relative to Mr. Palmer's views of Articles of faith in No. xlviii. of this work. We will give his own words as they occur in a supplement to his volumes which he has just published:—"I have not any where maintained," he says, "that the whole Catholic Church 'does even at this day preach every where one and the same

doctrine, except in *very minute secondary points*, or except as popular errors interfere with it.'—*British Critic*, p. 364. A reference to what I have above stated, p. 567, will show that I am not on *principle* bound to sustain this position; nor do I practically admit it, because, in my opinion, several of the errors and abuses of the Roman Church are of a very important nature, and very detrimental to Christian piety, though they be not, strictly speaking, contrary to the articles of faith.

"I know not what part of my work has led to the notion that I hold 'that the faith of the Church admits of addition,' and that 'any doctrine which has once been generally received must be apostolic, or, in other words, that the majority cannot be wrong.'—*British Critic*, pp. 368, 369. I have expressly argued against the latter position (vol. ii. p. 136, &c.); as to the former, I have distinctly stated that the articles of our faith were but once revealed and admit of no addition (vol. i. p. 89). Perhaps it may be supposed that in admitting that, before the universal Church has decided some question of controversy different opinions may be held without heresy, while I hold that, after the judgment of the Church, there should be no more diversity, I may seem to admit the articles of faith to be capable of addition. This was not my intention; I only mean that in the heat of controversy, when different opinions are supported by men of learning, it may for a time be doubtful what the revealed truth is, and therefore persons may for a time not receive that truth, may even hold what is contrary to it; and yet, until the authority of the universal Church has decided the question, and left then without excuse, they may be free from the guilt of formal heresy. I only speak here of controversies which the Church had not decided in former ages; or in which the testimony of tradition as well as Scripture is disputed."

Mr. Oakeley has just published a volume of Sermons preached at Whitehall Chapel (Rivingtons), which makes us very grateful to the Bishop of London for having ended the delicate and difficult arrangements, of which the preacher-ships have been the subject, by such an appointment. In a brief notice of this nature, we cannot do more than direct the reader's attention to the preface, in which the *Internal Evidence* for the divinity of the Church system is drawn out from the tendency of its doctrines to produce those graces which Scripture especially inculcates; in other words, he shows that to be Catholic is *the way*, and only way, to be evangelical.

That mild-tempered and candid man, Mr. Bickersteth, has lately published three works, all of course characterized by his peculiar views, viz., "Christian Truth," "A Voice from the Alps," and "Dangers of the Church." The second of these will be valuable to those who wish to know the state of the French and Swiss Protestant Home Missions, or "Evangelical Societies." Mr. Merlè D'Aubigné, whose Discourses are embodied in it, upholds the three first centuries as the time when the Church was "a living form." Mr. Bickersteth seems to be of the same way of thinking from his volume of Extracts from the early Fathers.

How remarkable a contrast to such thinkers does the author of "The Natural

History of Enthusiasm" present, who, speaking of the Fathers' views about celibacy, "says boldly," in a new work which we have noticed in another place, that "popery, foul as it is, and has ever been in the mass, might yet fairly represent itself as a *reform upon early Christianity*."—p. 79. We may here add how much we are obliged to this latter writer for his seasonable production, which must do good. He gives high praise to the authors of the Tracts for the Times for their opposition to Rationalism, summarily disposes of Dissenters and Ultra-Protestants of all sorts, and brings out usages and opinions in the early Church which the Oxford writers have been amiably reluctant to insist upon.

We have several other pamphlets to announce in the same controversy, one is on the "Idoltrous Tendency of the Oxford Tracts;" another, on the Heathenism of the Reserve inculcated in them (by Mr. Bird), we have noticed above; a third is, it seems, to show that their writers are *not members* of the Church of England; a fourth, by Mr. Fitzgerald, has the appearance of being the work of a young man, which the affix of B.A. to his name would confirm. It is not very deep, but the tone is good and Christian. Mr. Bird also exhibits an improved temper in the controversy, which is encouraging, and deserves the thanks of all lovers of peace.

Dr. Pusey, in a Letter to the Bishop of Oxford, discusses at length most of the subjects in controversy, under the heads of the Rule of Faith, Justification, Sin after Baptism, the Sacraments, Baptism, the Lord's Supper, Apostolical Succession, Prayers for the Dead in Christ, Invocation, and Celibacy.

Two more Tracts for the Times have been published, No. 85, "On the Scripture Proof of Church Doctrines," and No. 86, "On the Indications of a Superintending Providence in the Preservation of the Prayer Book, and in the Changes which it has undergone."

Mr. Pugin has written an intemperate attack on the Cranmer Memorial, which its supporters have very rightly not answered. The subscriptions to this "national work" amount to more than £5000. £25,000 are wanted for the whole design, including the decorations on the exterior. In consequence some prominent persons on the committee propose to pull down St. Mary Magdalen Church, which lies nearest to the place of burning, and to rebuild it with the money subscribed; this would be a saving of site and endowment. We are glad to see that some Wesleyans have contributed their mite to this truly Protestant undertaking.

"Reminiscences of Rome" is a Roman Catholic production forming a superfine illustration of that species of talk which Mr. Burchell recognised in Miss Carolina Wilhelmina Skeggs, or viewed at the best estate resembling the courtesy dropped by Sisters Angelica and Seraphina to the Pretender, which was "so profound that the hoop-petticoats which performed the feat seemed to sink down to the very floor, nay, through it, as if a trap-door had opened for their descent." If we are to be converted to Romanism, we certainly shall bargain for something in the way of argument more manly and robust, less puffy and mawkish than is exhibited in this and other productions of the same school.

A valuable work has been commenced called "The Voice of the Church" (Burns), being selections from Divines and other writers of the Church. The

part now published contains a great deal of matter and is very moderate in price.

We recommend to notice "Letters of a Reformed Catholic" Nos. 1—3, on the leading Principle of the Reformation, on Private Judgment and Authority in matters of Faith, and on the Apostolical Succession; they are written clearly and solidly, and will prove useful for distribution. The last of these advertises, as likely soon to be published, "The Tree of Apostolical Succession, from an Engraving published in 1672." Such a table has been long a desideratum, and it promises to be an appropriate decoration for the chimney-piece or closet of the Churchman.

If any one wants information on this last subject, he should read a bold and striking publication called "The Church, the Bishop, or Corah, which?" (Roake and Varty.) It is not always written in good taste, but it contains enlarged and noble views becoming an Anglo-Catholic, and suited to these times.

Maclaurin's "Plea for Primitive Episcopacy" (Bell and Bradfute, Edinburgh), is a spirited but not very discreet or well-judging composition. We have no doubt it will do good among Dissenters.

Mr. Oldknow's essay on "The Catholic Church" (Rivingtons) is a work of the same kind in a very calm and pleasing spirit. It was to have been dedicated to Mr. Rose, instead of which the author has been forced to satisfy himself with an announcement, of which we cite the first sentence:—"The English branch of the Catholic Church has recently lost one of its greatest ornaments, who devoted to its service, and to the maintenance and spread of that religion which it is its object to perpetuate, the rare endowments of commanding talent, extensive learning, high and undeviating principle, and Christian piety; and whose exertions in its behalf, both in removing misapprehension and prejudice, in exposing the designs of its enemies, and in furthering plans for its greater efficiency, it may be safely said, were not less effectual than those of any living man." The concluding words might well be made stronger than they are.

The "Vox Ecclesiæ" (J. W. Parker) is a collection of the Judgments of our Bishops against the Ecclesiastical Commission. It is well worth attention.

Dr. Dealtry has published a Charge "On the Obligations of the National Church." It is full of interesting facts, and contains in an appendix Remarks on our Church by an American Writer, in which there is much that is valuable, not a little that is inconsistent.

Mr. Molesworth's "Domestic Chaplain" (Rivingtons, London), is a collection of sermons on family duties for every Sunday in the year. Mr. Molesworth's name is known and respected by all Churchmen; and these Sermons are in the tone and on the principles of his former works. He is always instructive, but we could wish there were always *consistency* in his theological and ecclesiastical views. Consistency, he may be quite sure, is the only strength and security of doctrine in an age of inquiry; all other teaching jars and cracks.

Mr. Scott, Fellow of Balliol College, has published an excellent sermon (Rivingtons) on the important subject, which elicited Dr. Pusey's and Mr. Oakeley's

sermons noticed in our last number, the Claims upon Churchmen of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

We have to notice also Mr. Wilberforce's sermon on "The Power of God's Word needful for National Education" (Rivingtons), Mr. Dodsworth's on "Romanism successfully opposed only on Catholic Principles" (Burns), and Mr. Gray's on "Church Union" (Southampton).

Mr. Bartlett has published "Memoirs of Bishop Butler" (J. W. Parker). There seem to be such slender materials for a life of this eminent man that we ought not to be severe but rather grateful towards those who attempt it. At the same time we must confess for ourselves, that we had rather read but a little of Butler than much of Butler's admirers and critics. We care less than Mr. Bartlett does what Sir. J. Macintosh, Dr. Parr, or the Edinburgh Review thinks of Butler's Sermons (ch. 2), or of the Analogy (ch. 3); and we scruple at his devoting a chapter to Secker's character and habits (ch. 12), and another to Berkeley (ch. 13), in so brief a memoir.

"The Pilgrim's Staff," (Ball, London) is a pleasing and useful collection of meditations and prayers from the most various sources adapted for every day of the year. It is compiled, however, on the delusive notion that men of opposite doctrinal sentiments think and feel alike. St. Cyprian, Romaine, Hopkins, St. Anselm, Wesley, and the present Bishop of London, among others, are made to contribute their portion.

Mr. Bosanquet's "New System of Logic" (J. W. Parker) is not a work which can be despatched in one or two sentences. We are not prepared to say that we should agree with all he advances or that he has placed his argument upon its simplest principles; but it bears the marks of an original, and (what is better) a deep and true thinker. We thoroughly acquiesce in the statement with which Mr. Bosanquet opens:—"Aristotle's system of reasoning is not consistent with Holy Scripture. The sacred writers adopt a style of reasoning which is wholly opposite to it in character."—p. v. No one can doubt that the Aristotelian system provides an *adequate analysis* of the reasoning process; but so might theories of physical astronomy before Newton solve adequately the motions of the heavenly bodies. The question is not whether it is not sufficient, but whether it is the most simple, natural and Christian.

Mr. Smart in his "Beginnings of a new school of Metaphysics" (Richardson) agrees in criticising the Aristotelian logic: but excels neither in his metaphysical principles nor his tone.

Collins' "Cheap Edition of Select Christian Authors" (Glasgow) has started with giving us two good works and spoiling them by introductory essays. Why administer Thomas-à-Kempis in a dose of Chalmers and dash Mr. Wilberforce with the present Bishop of Calcutta?

"Christian Literature" (Fraser and Crawford, Edinburgh,) is a work apparently of the same kind. It has published "Leslie's Short and Easy Method with the Deists," Bishop Taylor's "Holy Living" and Witherspoon on "Regeneration."

"Pascal's Thoughts" have been newly translated and published at Glasgow

(Collins), but here again we are haunted with an introductory essay, though from the pen of an able man, Mr. Taylor.

"An attempt to illustrate the Connection between the *Catechism* and *Articles* of the Church in a Letter to a Friend" (Parker, Oxford,) is well calculated to remove the difficulties which certain minds find in understanding the latter.

Mr. F. W. Faber's Tracts on the Church and Prayer Book are now published in one volume. They are, what some persons would call, *young*; but that does not interfere, to say the least, with their being eloquent and interesting, as well as instructive. They are well adapted for distribution.

Bishop Henshaw's "*Horæ Succisivæ*, or Spare Hours for Meditations," have been republished (Darling). The volume consists, as its title implies, of short reflections upon religious subjects. It is one of those books which have been condemned to an oblivion of years, and which changes in the religious world have brought down from the book shelf. The profits are to go towards defraying the expense incurred lately in erecting a chapel in Edinburgh. It is a pleasing publication for an excellent object.

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STATEMENT.

In consequence of the total withdrawal of the Parliamentary aid which had for many years been granted for the support of Scriptural Education in Ireland, a number of voluntary Societies were formed within the last six years, in several Dioceses and Counties, in order to collect funds for the maintenance of Schools in which the Holy Scriptures were made the basis of instruction. These numerous Societies have been hitherto acting independently of each other; and wherever the Clergy and Landowners of the districts in which the Schools are situated were unable to supply sufficient means for their support, deputations have been sent to England to solicit assistance. The inconvenience and expense of so many deputations from these distinct, yet similar Education Societies, having been found to increase—the need of mutual co-operation, and the want of uniformity of system in conducting the Schools being generally felt, and the necessity for establishing a good training School, for the purpose of keeping up a supply

of properly qualified teachers becoming every year more urgent—it has been deemed advisable to unite these Associations together into one general Society. A plan for effecting this object having been submitted to the consideration of the Lord Primate and the Prelates assembled in Dublin, the result has been the formation of The Church Education Society for Ireland, under the sanction of his Grace and a large majority of the episcopal bench.

The object of the Society is to afford to the rising generation of the Irish poor instruction in the Holy Scriptures, and especially to train up the children of the Church in the principles of the Christian religion, as set forth in the Catechism, and the other authorized formularies. To effect this great object, it is the design of the Society to assist those schools already existing which are established on the foregoing principles, and to found new Schools wherever they may be wanted; to maintain a central Training and Model School in Dublin for the education of teachers in the most approved method of conveying instruction, and thereby render the system of scriptural education pursued in the Schools throughout every part of the country more efficient.

The establishment of such a Society has been rendered necessary, not only by the withdrawal of Parliamentary aid from the valuable class of Schools which it is its design to support, but still more by the appropriation of a large annual grant for the maintenance of Schools placed under the direction of a Board, in which, from the nature of its constitution, the great body of the Church in Ireland can have no confidence, and conducted on principles to which they are strongly and conscientiously opposed.


An earnest Appeal is therefore now made to the friends of pure and undefiled religion, and especially to the zealous members of the United Church of England and Ireland, to assist in carrying on the good work designed by this Society, and thereby aid the Parochial Clergy of Ireland in training up the children of the poor to be loyal and peaceable subjects, industrious and useful Members of the Community, and enlightened servants and followers of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

(By order,)

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 All communications on the business of the above Society are to be addressed to Thomas Woodward, Esq., Assistant Secretary, 39, Westmorland-street, Dublin; or, in England, to Rev. J. R. Page, A.M., Secretary for England, 9, Charing Cross, London.

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